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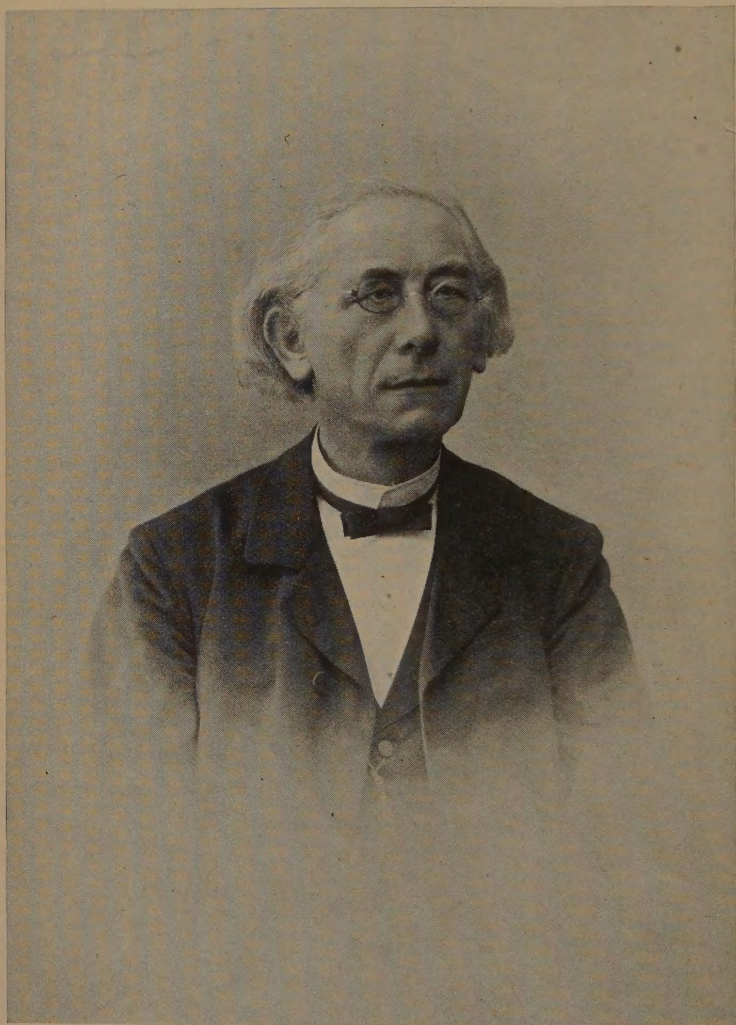
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July, 1969

HISTORY OF
PROTESTANT MISSIONS



Warwick.

OUTLINE OF A HISTORY
OF
PROTESTANT MISSIONS

FROM THE
REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT TIME

A Contribution to Modern Church History

BY
GUSTAV WARNECK

PROFESSOR AND DOCTOR OF THEOLOGY

Authorised Translation from the Seventh German Edition

EDITED BY
GEORGE ROBSON, D.D.

WITH PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR AND TWELVE MAPS

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO SEVENTH EDITION

THIS Seventh Edition also appears in a form in many respects enlarged and, I hope, improved, apart from the circumstance that it naturally continues the history down to the most recent time. Notwithstanding this revision, it will contain many defects; the vast amount of original material which has to be mastered is in part very difficult to procure, and is often itself very defective. That we must be content in respect of statistics with only an approximate completeness and reliability seems to me every day more clearly demonstrated; even as regards the principles of missionary statistics a complete agreement seems unattainable, as is shown by Dennis's most recent and laborious work. I understand by Missions the whole operations of Christendom directed towards the planting and organisation of the Christian Church among non-Christians, that is, their Christianisation; Dennis understands by it also the proselytising of non-Protestants. I hold even such non-Christians as dwell in a Christian land—the Indians as well as the negroes of North America—to be proper objects of Missions; Dennis excludes them from Missions to the heathen, or, as they are called in England and America, Foreign Missions, and relegates them to Home Missions. This naturally creates important differences in figures.

Gladly would I have appended a short survey of Roman Catholic missions in the several mission fields; but the hope I had of the appearance of a new volume of the *Missiones Catholicae* before the publication of the Seventh Edition has been disappointed. And the material otherwise provided in Roman Catholic missionary literature, both as regards reports and statistics, is too defective, and often too untrustworthy, to form the basis of a survey that would be in some measure satisfactory.

THE AUTHOR.

HALLE, *Whitsuntide* 1901.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

THERE is probably no man living who has a completer knowledge of modern Missions than Dr. Warneck. They have been his life-long study. Not only the progress of Missions, but the questions of principle and policy which constitute the science of Missions, have drawn from his pen works too numerous to mention here, which command the attention of all students of Missions. His pre-eminence in this department has led to his being invited to join the professional staff of the University of Halle, and has gathered round his monthly periodical, *Die Missions-Zeitschrift*, now in its 27th year, a circle of able expert contributors.

Of all existing histories of Protestant Missions, I have no hesitation in characterising Dr. Warneck's as by far the best, not only in respect of the completeness and orderliness of its survey, but also in respect of insight into historical development and enlightened sobriety of judgment. The comparative fulness with which Continental, and particularly German, Missions to the heathen are described will supply what has long been a felt want in English missionary literature. Of course, the history is still only an outline. Every year is happily rendering an adequate history of the ever-expanding enterprise more difficult.

It is twenty years since the first edition of Dr. Warneck's *Outline History of Protestant Missions* was published. In 1884 there appeared an English translation of the Second Edition by Dr. Thomas Smith; the book was only a third of the size of the present volume. After a long interval, and in view of the great advances which had taken place in the intervening years, Dr. Warneck re-wrote his History in an enlarged form. This Third Edition appeared in 1895, and no fewer than four editions have since been called for. Each edition has been revised according to the most recent information, and, through the kindness of Dr. Warneck in supplying advance proof-sheets, the present English translation is made from the Seventh German Edition, published in September of this year.

With regard to this translation, thanks are due to Dr.

Warneck for having cordially authorised it, as well as for other aid besides the kindness already mentioned. Thanks are also due to the Rev. J. P. Mitchell, M.A., Edinburgh, for having undertaken the translation of the First Part, and to the Rev. Campbell M. Macleroy, B.D., East Kilbride, for having undertaken the translation of the Second Part. My endeavour, in revising their work and preparing the book for publication, has been to render it as useful for English readers as a translation can well be. The very numerous references in the original work to German and other Continental sources of information are almost entirely omitted, as the student to whom such references would be of value will naturally make use of the German edition. A few notes have been added where supplementary statement or explanation seemed desirable; to have added to these as largely as the temptation offered would have been to intrude into the province of the author. The numbering of the paragraphs and a series of maps have been introduced into the English edition, in the hope of rendering it of greater service to the increasing number who desire to acquaint themselves with the history and progress of modern Missions.

I need hardly add that, while in general agreement with Dr. Warneck's views, I am not to be held as concurring in all his criticisms. Some of them appear to me to call for modification.

G. R.

PERTH, *September* 1901.

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PART I

MISSIONARY LIFE AT HOME

PART I

MISSIONARY LIFE AT HOME

INTRODUCTION

1. CHRISTIAN missions are as old as Christianity itself. The missionary idea, indeed, is much older. In affirming an eternal origin for the Divine decree of salvation, Paul affirms it equally for the universality of salvation (Eph. iii. 1-12). God, who called the universe into being, designed His whole creation from all eternity for a universal salvation. Therefore did He not only create a human race after His own likeness, which is of one blood dwelling over the whole earth, but this human race, formed after His likeness, and one, He made to be in its totality the object of His saving love which is determined in Christ.¹ That is a root-thought of the Divine plan of salvation from the beginning; but in the time of the Old Testament revelation it still remains a more or less hidden mystery, and becomes first fully disclosed and translated into deed when the salvation of the sinful world in Christ Jesus has emerged from the stage of promise into that of fulfilment. True, even in the period of "particularism," during which the people of Israel stands forth as the only bearer of revelation, the participation of the nations that are not of Israel in the promised Messianic salvation is set prophetically in view. But this prophecy lies more on the borders than at the centre of the Old Testament circle of thought, and has not yet any practical significance.

2. The prophetic thought of the universality of salvation first passes into missions proper, *i.e.* first becomes the actual offer of salvation to all nations, by the sending forth of messengers according to the missionary behest of Jesus (Matt. xxviii. 18-20; Mark xvi. 15; Luke xxiv. 46-48; John xx. 21;

¹ Warneck, *Evangel. Missionslehre*, Gotha, 1897, 2nd ed., I. chap. vii.: "Der Ursprung der christlichen Mission." [Many subsequent references to this valuable work are omitted for the sake of space.—Ed.]

Acts i. 8, ix. 15, xxii. 21, xxvi. 16-18). This commandment, however, is not itself the deepest and final basis of missions. The Gospel of Jesus Christ necessarily issues in a missionary commandment. It is penetrated through and through by thoughts of universal salvation which make it a religion for the whole world. These thoughts move through all the teaching of Jesus, and necessarily led, when His saving work was accomplished, to the institution of missions, the more so since Israel as a nation rejected salvation. Jesus Himself, it is true, does not go as a missionary to the heathen, but from the outset He looks upon His doctrine so entirely as a missionary religion, that immediately upon the selection of the disciples, whom He chose to carry forward His work, He gave to them the name of "apostles," missionaries.

3. In accordance with the fundamental character of Christianity as a missionary religion, missions are from the beginning a law of life in the Christian church; the Christian church is a missionary church. The Christian nations of to-day were all originally heathen. The whole Christian church of the present is the result of missionary work in the past. That, which gave it its origin, abides as the condition of its life. Missions are a natural outflow of the life of faith in the church, a necessity for its own preservation, and therefore a self-evident duty. The church is untrue to itself, it is false to its origin and false to the essential character of Christianity, if it withdraws from its missionary obligation. On the other hand, the discharge of this duty brings to it the richest blessing, according to the old principle of the kingdom of heaven, "Unto him that hath shall be given." In apostolic times the grafting of the wild branches on the roots of the good olive tree (Rom. xi. 17) not only saved infant Christianity from the dominion of a new legalism, but also secured for it its future as the religion of the world. In the Middle Ages the Greek and Roman churches needed anew the grafting of stronger wild branches, if Christianity was not to grow numb in dead forms of doctrine and worship. What ministries of blessing the missions of to-day are rendering to the church of the present, only coming generations will learn fully to appreciate.

4. Most intensely—if not also most extensively—the indwelling missionary energy of the Christian church evinced itself in apostolic times. In that youth-time of first love the whole church was practically a missionary church. Albeit the number of missionaries proper was not proportionately very large, yet their spiritual power was all the more significant, and the co-operation of the churches the more energetic. The mission field of this first period extended, in the main, as far as

those splendid highways led which military necessity and the commerce of the age had made within the Roman Empire, as far as the knowledge of the Greek language had spread, and as far as the Jewish dispersion had extended. God Himself had paved the path of missions, had ploughed the field of missions, and had marked out the first mission stations. In this Divine preparation lay one of the main reasons for the relatively important results of that earliest missionary work. These results, however, must be exaggerated neither as to quantity nor quality. At the close of the first century there were in the broad Roman Empire perhaps 200,000 Christians; at the end of the third century, at the most eight millions, *i.e.* one-fifteenth part of the entire population. Moreover, the congregations of that time did not form pure church soil.¹ It was in the centuries following the elevation of Christianity by Constantine to be the religion of the state, that the entire Christianising of the Græco-Roman world was gradually accomplished.

5. By means of individual conversions and the founding of small churches, the mission of the apostles had begun its work from beneath upwards; and it was essentially by means of assimilation that, in the further course of that era, ever increasing multitudes were joined to this originally little nucleus, until it grew to be a moral and religious popular force, with which the political acumen of Constantine reckoned. The measures taken by him, and after him, for the violent suppression of heathenism and the official favouring of Christianity, certainly hastened the Christianising of the masses in an utterly unevangelical way, and introduced into it very worldly motives. Yet the Christianising of the people would have taken place without that mischievous ecclesiastical policy, which carried over so much unsubdued heathenism into the church, and allowed it to go on luxuriating there. This Christianising of the masses in the time of Constantine, and after it, must needs be severely criticised. But it must not be overlooked that it was a historically conditioned occurrence, which did not take place without Divine permission, and which will always take place where the conditions are similar. The Christianising of nations is the aim of missions, and with the achieving of this aim the powers of the world will always enter into a certain measure of concurrence. Only, Christian missions must energetically guard against a resort to force. As the history of missions is a weighty factor in the history of the world, so the history of the world intrudes with determinative influence into the history of missions. A missionary period

¹ Warneck, *Die apostolische und die moderne Mission*, Gütersloh, 1876, 47.

is accomplished practically in three stages, which of course are neither always sharply distinguished nor spread over the same space of time. The first stage is that of the actual embassy and of the conversion of individuals, with the gathering of comparatively small churches. The second is that of the organised co-operation of the native converts, the upbuilding of the churches, the leavening of the life of the people with the power of the Gospel and the extension of Christianity by assimilative incorporation. The third is that of the Christianising of the masses, which for the most part takes place in connection with means and motives not purely religious, with political and social movements, with the acceptance of Christianity on the part of leading men, and so on. Not that this historical course developes with mechanical regularity; the third stage has frequently been the first. In these instances, however, they were unnatural, coercive missions, which for a sound theory of missions have the significance only of warning examples.

6. This was very largely the case in the mission period of the Middle Ages.¹ True, the mission work of the Middle Ages began at many points with individual conversions, and with an upbuilding from beneath that was sound in method if not in doctrine. Nor did it lack a whole series of Christian personalities, who, with all the defects in their knowledge of the Gospel, had the quality of witnesses of Jesus. Yet if one considers the mission work as a whole—how it stood in connection with the policy of conquest, either enlisting that policy in its service or lending itself to the service of that policy; how (with acknowledged exceptions) it not only took no umbrage at the violent acts of the political power, but actually sanctioned them as helpful to missions; if one considers how these missions, proceeding from a church which had itself degenerated into a kingdom of this world, and whose functionaries had almost lost the understanding of the inner essence of Christianity and of its spirit of evangelical freedom; how these missions were virtually a preaching of law in room of the Gospel, were confined to outward ecclesiastical ordinances, and were satisfied if they had but formally driven the inwardly unprepared masses into the sheepfold of the church; how they accepted as sufficient for baptism a mere rote repetition of the Baptismal creed and the Paternoster; how by substituting church usages for heathen customs they put a Christian varnish on heathenism, so as, one might almost say, to filch the acceptance of Christianity by way of accom-

¹ Thomas Smith, *Medieval Missions*, Edinburgh, 1880. Barnes, *Two Thousand Years of Missions before Carey*, Chicago, 1900.

modation : when one considers all that, he is disposed to deem the whole mission work of the Middle Ages a huge mistake. Yet that might be said to be "emptying out the child with the bath."

The result of the first period of missions, the Christianising of the peoples of the Græco-Roman world, lay before the church of the Middle Ages as historic fact. This fact was of guiding influence for it in carrying forward missionary effort. The mediæval church aimed likewise at the Christianising of nations, and that too within a region which was bounded, as well as opened, by distinct historic leadings, and which practically embraced those peoples of Europe that were involved in the migratory movements and military conquests of the time. From the ideal evangelical standpoint it must indeed be said that unhappily the secular power with its politics came into far too close association with the church, and that unhappily also the church was only too susceptible to this alliance. But from the realistic standpoint it must also be granted that in the coincidence of all these movements there lay a historic combination which was not without Divine providence. The missions of the Middle Ages had to do with barbarous peoples who needed discipline as well as training, and who were as amenable to, as in need of, authority. And certainly they were kept under discipline, and were trained to a certain measure of Christian life. At all events, the missions of the Middle Ages were by their severely legal method a schoolmaster to lead unto Christ, a schoolmaster who in the time before the Reformation rendered to the Christianised peoples of Europe an educative service in religion, morals, and culture of profound importance.

True, the missionary leaders of the age, whether in the cowl of monks or in the robe of princes, stood on rather a low level of culture. The whole atmosphere was inclement, not to say raw. It was an iron age, and the men who lived in it took from its rudeness a stamp of character which naturally could not but react upon the church and its missions. In the low state of the civilisation of the time there lay not indeed a justification of, but still an excuse for, the many worldly means of mission work which were employed. We possess to-day quite another measure of spiritual knowledge than the church of the Middle Ages possessed ; and the church, and not merely the missionaries, of the Middle Ages must be held accountable for the manifold errors in the choice of missionary means. In particular, it is the secularised external conception of the church which is chiefly to blame for the fact that so often the hosts of conquerors stood behind the missionaries,

and that there were properly no churches, but only, speaking generally, monastic orders and princes doing missionary work.

With the increasing obscuration of Bible doctrine and the increasing declension in Christian life, missionary activity, which had been growing more and more external, came gradually to a standstill in the fourteenth century. Europe was, at least outwardly, almost wholly Christianised. On the other hand, almost all the provinces of Western Asia and of North Africa, where Christianity had in the first period of missions achieved such magnificent conquests, had been lost to it through the counter-mission of Mohammedanism. Only sporadic Christian churches still remained; in Asia Minor (Syrians, Armenians, Nestorians), in India (Thomasites), in Egypt (Kopts), and in Abyssinia. These are, to this day, so far from being missionary centres, that they need themselves to be the spheres of missionary work.

7. Then, even before the Reformation, a great new mission field was opened. There began an age of discovery, which had for its result the disclosure of a hitherto altogether unknown non-Christian world. The most epoch-making event of this age was the discovery of America in 1492. To the end of his life, however, Columbus had no idea that he had discovered a new continent, but remained in the conviction that he had landed in Asia. The great geographical problem which was then in question was the finding of the sea-way to India. In order to solve this problem, discoverers struck out in two directions: they sailed along the coast of Africa in order, by circumnavigating it, to reach India by the way of the East, which at last the Portuguese Vasco da Gama accomplished in 1498, after Diego Cam had discovered Congo-land in 1484, and Bartholomeo Diaz the Cape of Good Hope in 1486. On the other hand, incited by hypotheses which certain ingenious geographers had set up, and supported by Spain, Columbus sought to find India by a way to the West, and on that way he came to America. Thus Spain and Portugal, the two nations then most powerful on the sea, set foot on three continents, Africa, Asia, and America, and acquired vast possessions. From the first the discoverers, who at the same time were conquerors, were accompanied by monks, mainly of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, for the purpose of planting the banner of the Cross in the lands which should be discovered and conquered. So discovery, conquest, and missions went hand in hand, and that in both the directions which discovery and conquest took. However pleasing it is, on the one hand, that the Catholic church saw a missionary signal in the opening of the world, just as fatal, on the other hand,

was the manner in which this connection worked in practice. It not only sanctioned the seizing of territory, making it, as it were, a sacred act in virtue of the aim of conversion, but it secularised the work of missions at the root, as it made the sword the means of conversion. On the 3rd of May 1493, Pope Alexander VI. drew the notorious line of demarcation by which he apportioned the newly discovered and still to be discovered world to Spain and Portugal, on the condition that the inhabitants should be made Christians. Thus, in the Portuguese and Spanish colonies of the time, missions were much more crusades than proclamations of the word of the Cross; they far exceeded the violence and externalism of those of the Middle Ages, and they planted a formal ecclesiasticism which at its base remained but white-washed heathenism.¹ The missionary church was itself degenerate; it could therefore carry on only a degenerate missionary work. Still, it did carry on such a work, and that expansively, in three continents, and that with much apparent success.

How was it in the young Protestant church?

¹ On the American missions, see Warneck, *Protest. Beleuchtung der römischen Angriffe auf die evang. Heidenmission*, Gütersloh, 1885, 412.

CHAPTER I

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION

8. NOTWITHSTANDING the era of discovery in which the origin of the Protestant church fell, there was no missionary action on her part in the age of the Reformation. This can be explained, and must be excused, on two grounds—(1) Because immediate intercourse with heathen nations was lacking to the Protestant church (especially in Germany), and (2) because the battle against heathenism within the old Christendom, the struggle for its own existence against papal and worldly power, and the necessity of self-consolidation, summoned it primarily to a work at home which claimed all the energy of young Protestantism. By the Reformation the Christianising of a large part of Europe was first completed, and so far it may be said to have carried on a mission work at home on an extensive scale. It was exclusively Catholic states—Portugal and Spain—which then held sway on the sea, and which were making new discoveries and annexing the great territories beyond. No way was then open for Protestant states into the newly discovered world; and had Evangelicals sought to enter it as missionaries, they would as certainly not have been permitted, even as in Spain and Portugal the entrance of the Gospel was withstood by force.

9. Only, if the want of a direct connection with the newly discovered world and the closing of that world against a possible entrance of Protestantism sufficiently explain the lack of missionary activity in the churches of the Reformation, yet the other fact remains unexplained, namely, that no lament was raised over the practical impossibility of discharging the missionary obligation, which was brought so near by the opening of the world. In the time of the Reformation, we do indeed meet with one complaint as to the want of missionary zeal, a complaint which is at once an eloquent argument for the duty of missions and a powerful missionary appeal to contemporaries. But that complaint was raised by Erasmus, whom

we cannot claim as an Evangelical witness.¹ If, however, the Reformers and their immediate disciples have no word either of sorrow or excuse that circumstances hindered their discharge of missionary duty, while they could not but see that the Church of Rome was implementing this duty on a broad scale, this strange silence can be accounted for satisfactorily only by the fact that the recognition of the missionary obligation was itself absent. We miss in the Reformers not only missionary action, but even the idea of missions, in the sense in which we understand them to-day. And this not only because the newly discovered heathen world across the sea lay almost wholly beyond the range of their vision, though that reason had some weight, but because fundamental theological views hindered them from giving their activity, and even their thoughts, a missionary direction. This fact surprises us in the case of so great witnesses for God; it pains us. And for that reason it can readily be understood how, by isolated quotations, principally from the writings of Luther, it has been sought over and over again to disprove it.² But on closer examination these quotations do not bear out what they are meant to prove; and less and less has the fact come to be called in question that the insight into the permanent missionary task of the church was really darkened in the case of the Reformers,—it is only upon the reasons which explain it that some slight difference of opinion still prevails. Had that not been the case, all the amplitude of the reformation work within the old Christendom, which was most incumbent on them, would not have kept them back from at least seeking to fulfil the missionary obligation. From the days of the Apostles until

¹ In his *Ecclesiastes sive de ratione concionandi*. The substance of it is given by Kalkar, *Geschichte der christlichen Mission unter den Heiden*, Gütersloh, 1879, i. 53. [The reason assigned by Dr. Warneck for practically disregarding Erasmus in his estimate of the relation of the Reformation to missions, can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. Although Erasmus stands aloof from the Evangelical group at the centre of the Reformation, yet there were elements and aspects of the general movement which Erasmus most clearly perceived and most eminently represented. The more accurate Dr. Warneck's estimate of the position of the Reformers in relation to missions, the more is it to the credit of Erasmus that he did not share their theological prepossessions in this respect, and was able to furnish in this particular a truer interpretation of the meaning and spirit of the Reformation. But what ought to be noticed is that neither Erasmus nor Saravia, to whom Dr. Warneck afterwards refers, saw the missionary duty of the church in such a light as to make it matter of a special treatise or of a distinct call to action. Their views on missions were expressed incidentally,—by the one in a treatise dealing with homiletics, by the other in a treatise dealing with Church polity. And no one else in the age of the Reformation did what they thus failed to do. For a long extract from the treatise of Erasmus, see Dr. George Smith's *Short History of Christian Missions*, 5th ed., pp. 116-118.—Ed.]

² So Ostertag, in his *Uebersichtliche Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen*; Plitt, *Kurze Geschichte der lutherischen Mission*, Erlangen, 1871; Kalkar, *v. ref.*

to-day, the work to be done within the church has never been able to confine the Gospel at home, as soon as its extension among the heathen has been recognised to be equally the duty of the church.

10. Evidence for the assertion that "Luther did not neglect the missionary commandment of the Lord to His church, but sought by word and deed to do justice to it," a man like Plitt, well versed in the life and teaching of the Reformer, can furnish only by altering the idea of "missions" into that of "the Reformation mission." Even Plitt allows that Luther did not think of proper missions to the heathen, *i.e.* of a regular sending of messengers of the Gospel to non-Christian nations, with the view of Christianising them. For by "missions" we understand, and we must not understand anything else than, this sending, continuing through every age of the church, which carries out the commandment, "Go and make disciples of all nations," *i.e.* of all nations which are still non-Christian. That, however, is something essentially different from what Plitt says of Luther. "By the heathen¹ he understands the non-Jewish nations which had entered the Christian church; . . . amongst *them* the Gospel must ever have freer course. Amongst them, accordingly, the disciples of Luther went out as messengers and founded mission stations. Now, too, they sought out first the chief centres of commerce, the larger towns, and thence their preaching broadened into ever wider circles, . . . until there was a compact evangelical church-domain. On such wise did Luther carry on Evangelical missions." Certainly; only, not in the specific sense of that term. And when Plitt adds: "From the state in which he found the church, Luther allowed himself to be guided as to how and where he should carry out the missionary commandment: he saw that the church was ignorant of what the substance of missionary preaching should be, and had either forgotten or was unwilling to know in what manner the kingdom of God is to be extended. Therefore here also a work of reformation was set to him. He bore testimony against the secularising of missionary activity,"—that fits the Reformer well, but it does not prove that the Reformer was also a man of missionary spirit in the sense of seeking the Christianising of the heathen. Luther's mission sphere was, if we may so say, the paganised Christian church. All the quotations of Plitt attest that, and nothing further. They do not prove that the Reformer looked upon the non-Christian

¹ [It should be explained to the English reader that in German the word (*die Heiden*) which denotes the heathen is the common expression for the Gentiles. It may thus signify either the non-Jewish or the non-Christian peoples.—Ed.]

world as a sphere of labour for himself and his followers, in accordance with the distinctive missionary commandment. Plitt evades the question at issue by substituting an unusual conception of missions.

The Reformation certainly did a great indirect service to the cause of missions to the heathen, as it not only restored the true substance of missionary preaching by its earnest proclamation of the Gospel, but also brought back the whole work of missions on to apostolic lines. But the church did not become conscious of this gain, nor did missions profit by it till a much later period, when, long after the age of the Reformation, an age of missions opened within Protestantism. Luther rightly combats, as Plitt insists, "the secularising of missionary work," according to which it was believed that the enemies of the Christian name must be smitten down by the sword, and showed of what sort was the message which was to be brought by the church to all nations. He does not, however, do that in view of the perverted missions to the heathen of that time,—of these he makes no mention,—but in connection with his attitude to the Turkish wars. "It does not belong to the Pope, in so far as he would be a Christian, yea, the chiefest and best preacher of Christ, to lead a church army or a Christian army, for the church must not fight with the sword. It has other weapons, another sword and other wars, with which it has enough to do, and must not mix itself up with the wars of the emperor and the princes." Yet Luther never points to the Turks, nor even to the heathen, as the objects of regular missionary work. "There are," he says, "amongst ourselves, Turks, Jews, heathen, non-Christians all too many, both with openly false doctrine and terribly scandalous life." Hence in his Little Catechism he narrowed his interpretation of the second petition of the Lord's Prayer to this: "In this petition we pray that the kingdom of God may come *to us*." If Luther speaks of the heathen, he constantly uses the word in the sense of the non-Jewish nations which constitute Christendom. As, *e.g.*, "When it is said in the 117th Psalm, 'Praise the Lord, all ye heathen,' we are assured that *we* are heathen,¹ and that we also shall certainly be heard by God in heaven, and shall not be condemned, although we are not of Abraham's flesh and blood, as the Jews boast themselves, as if they alone were the children of Abraham, heirs of heaven by reason of natural descent from Abraham and the holy patriarchs, kings and prophets." Certainly he says further—"If all the heathen shall praise God, it must first be that He shall be their God. Shall He be their God? Then they must

¹ See note, p. 10.

know Him and believe in Him, and put away all idolatry, since God cannot be praised with idolatrous lips or with unbelieving hearts. Shall they believe? Then they must first hear His Word and by it receive the Holy Ghost, Who cleanses and enlightens their heart through faith. Are they to hear His Word? Then preachers must be sent who shall declare to them the Word of God." It were a mistake, however, to construe this into a missionary programme, as if Luther were summoning to the sending of missionaries to non-Christians. He always thinks of $\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \xi\theta\nu\eta$ in the sense of the Christian nations who have sprung from the heathen. Only in this sense is the word to be understood even in the familiar hymn, "Es wolle Gott uns gnädig sein," where it is said—

. . . "Und Jesus Christus, Heil und Stärk,
Bekannt den Heiden werden
Und sie zu Gott bekehren.
So danken, Gott und loben dich
Die Heiden überalle."

. . . "And Jesus Christ, His saving strength
To Gentiles to make known,
And turn them unto God.
That Thee, O God, may thank and praise
The Gentiles everywhere."

Of course, Luther maintained with emphasis the universality of Christianity and its elevation above all kinds of limit, whether of place, time, rank, or nation. He was quite certain also that, according to the promise, the Gospel must speed through the whole world and reach all nations. In this confidence he finds a wealth of comfort and much reason to praise the free compassion of God. "All the world does not mean one or two parts; but everywhere where people are, thither the Gospel must speed and still ever speeds, so that, even if it does not remain always in a place, it yet must come to, and sound forth in, all parts and corners of the earth." But often as such sayings are repeated, they are never set in connection with a summons to send messengers of the Gospel where its message has not yet come. And this is because Luther's view was that Christianity had already fulfilled its universal calling to be the religion of the world. "The spiritual Jerusalem, which is the kingdom of Christ, must be extended by the Gospel throughout the whole world. That has already come to pass. The Gospel has been preached, and upon it the kingdom of God has been firmly established in all places under heaven, so that it now reaches and abides to the end of the world, and in it we, by the mercy and compassion of God,

are citizens." "Everywhere the Word is preached and the sacraments are administered. It needs no longer that men go to Jerusalem, . . . another temple or church has been built whose walls encompass the whole world, . . . for He now lets His Word go to all creatures as He Himself gave commandment to the Apostles, 'Go ye, etc.' Though all people do not now believe, yet Christ rules everywhere where people are, maintains there His Word and Sacrament against all devils and men, for the Gospel and Baptism must go through the world as they have gone and are going day by day." In the parable of the Good Shepherd, too, Luther regards the "other sheep" as already brought in. "Many say that that has not yet been brought to pass. I say, nay, the saying has long ago been fulfilled." He does not say precisely, as later Lutheran theologians seek to demonstrate even from history, that the Apostles actually preached the Gospel in the whole world, but for his own time he reckons the missionary proclamation proper as accomplished. He often has occasion to speak of the missionary commandment, but his beautiful expositions of it—so even in his Epiphany sermons—constantly look back to the past; they never draw conclusions as to its abiding validity for the present and the future. Luther regarded the extension of Christianity in the world as achieved by the missionary history of the past.

This startling view becomes in some degree intelligible when we further learn that the Reformer does not understand the progress of the Gospel through the whole world in the sense that Christianity would become everywhere the ruling religion, or that all men would be won to believe the Gospel. Thus he preaches on the text, "There shall be one fold and one Shepherd," to this effect: "Some interpret this passage to mean that it must be fulfilled soon before the last day, when Christ and Elias and Enoch shall come. That is not true, and it really is the Devil himself who has led to the belief that the whole world will become Christian." And again: "What the Lord says of other sheep which He must also bring, so that there shall be one fold and one shepherd, began to be immediately after Pentecost, when the Gospel was preached by the Apostles through all the world, and will continue so to be until the end of the world. Not so that all men shall turn and accept the Gospel. That will never be. The Devil will never let that come to pass. Therefore there will ever be in the world many different faiths and religions." In an exposition of Micah (iv. 5) we have it: "*Multae gentes venient ad montem Sion, sed tamen non omnes, multae manebunt in impietate et idolatria sua.*" [Many nations shall come to Mount Zion, but

yet not all ; many shall remain in their impiety and idolatry.] Luther understands the missionary mandate only in the sense that by world-wide preaching the Gospel will be offered to all nations. In this sense, however, it is regarded by him as accomplished.

It must be granted, on the other hand, that some of Luther's sayings seem to stand opposed to this conception, and to suggest the idea that he was cognisant of a missionary task belonging to the church even in the present. Thus he speaks in one of his Ascension sermons : " Here there rises a question on this passage : ' Go ye into all the world,' as to how it is to be understood and held fast, since verily the Apostles have not come into all the world, for no Apostle has come to us, and also many islands have been discovered in our day where the people are heathen and no one has preached to them : yet the scripture saith their voice has sounded forth into all lands. Answer ; their preaching has gone out into all the world, though it has not yet come into all the world. That outgoing has been begun and gone on, though it has not yet been fulfilled and accomplished ; but there will be further and wider preaching until the last day. When the Gospel has been preached, heard, published through the whole world, then the commission shall have been fulfilled, and then the last day shall come." From these and similar sayings, which are repeatedly found, one might expect that Luther would have summoned the Christians of his time to carry forward the work of preaching the Gospel to the whole world, which was begun but not finished by the Apostles. But one is sorely disappointed when Luther proceeds : " It is with this mission of preaching just as when a stone is thrown into the water, it makes wavelets and circles and streaks round itself, and the wavelets move always farther and farther away, one chasing the other till they come to the bank. So with the preaching of the Gospel. It was begun by the Apostles, and goes on continually, and is sped ever farther by preachers hunted and persecuted hither and thither into the world, and so will always be more widely made known to those who have not erewhile heard it, even although in the midst of its course it be extinguished and reckoned empty heresy." Here again there is no reference to any systematic missionary enterprise. Luther thinks, at the most, of an occasional or incidental preaching among non-Christians, especially by faithful laymen or preachers who have been driven from their home. The systematic work of missions is, in his judgment—as Melancthon asserts on dogmatic grounds, and the later orthodox theologians demonstrate at greater length—a work confined to the Apostles. After them " no one has any longer

such a universal apostolic command, but each bishop or pastor has his appointed diocese or parish."

It seemed to him, indeed, natural that some devout Christians taken prisoners by the Turks should render service as witnesses by their Christian conduct. Thus he exhorts such as have fallen into Turkish captivity: "Where thou dost faithfully and diligently serve, there thou mayest adorn and honour the Gospel and the name of Christ, so that thy master, and perhaps many others, evil as they are, shall be constrained to say, 'These Christians are a faithful, dutiful, pious, humble, diligent people,' and thus thou mayest confound the faith of the Turks, and mayhap convert many when they see that Christians surpass the Turks in humility, patience, diligence, fidelity, and suchlike virtues. That is what St. Paul means by his word to Titus (ii. 10): 'Let servants adorn or grace the doctrine of our Lord in all things.'" That is the spirit of Christian testimony, but not missionary work. According to Luther, in place of the sending out of missionaries comes persecution or captivity or some such cause, which scatters Christians among non-Christians, and makes them there preachers of the Gospel by word and life. Nowhere does he recommend a purposeful sending out or a voluntary going out of preachers to non-Christians with the view of Christianising them. When he says in the "Deutsche Messe" [German Mass], "I hold not at all with those who attach such great importance to one language and despise all others, for I would fain that young men and others might be raised up who in foreign lands might be of service to Christ and speak with the people," the point in question is the right of the mother tongue in Divine worship which Luther claimed for every Christian nation, and not preparation for missionary preaching. And thus it is with all quotations which seem to show that he expresses in them real missionary ideas: when their connection is examined we are always disappointed.

Luther's peculiar attitude towards missions as a constant duty of the Christian Church is not yet, however, made fully clear by these statements. Account has also to be taken of his doctrine of Election and of his Eschatology. To lay the whole stress upon the former, as Sell does, is certainly one-sided. But when Luther considers the Turks as the obdurate enemies in the last time by whom God visits the sins of Christendom, and looks upon the heathen and the Jews as having fallen under the dominion of the Devil—and that, too, not without their own fault—this view must from the outset paralyse every thought of missionary work among them. God, to be sure, has everywhere His elect, whom by divers means He leads to faith;

but how He brings this to pass, that is matter of His sovereign grace,—a human missionary agency does not lie in the plan of His decree. Add to this that Luther and his contemporaries were persuaded that the end of the world was at hand, that the signs of the nearness of the last day were apparent, Antichrist in the Papacy, Gog and Magog in the Turks, so that no time remained for the further development and extension of the kingdom of God on the earth ; and it becomes quite intelligible that a regular missionary institution lay entirely outwith the circle of the ideas of the Reformers. It was the general view, shared both by Luther and Melanchthon, that the whole course of the world was divided into three periods of 2000 years, and that the third 2000 years beginning from Christ would be shortened, so that in the middle of the sixteenth century, some time in the year 1558, the last day would come. This eschatological position of the Reformers, resting on their whole conception of history, when taken in connection with the fact that the heathen world of their time lay quite beyond their sphere of vision, clearly explains how we find in them no proper missionary ideas.

If it has been objected to this, that in other cases the expectation of the approach of the second advent of Jesus serves much more as an incentive to missionary zeal, as the example of the Apostles shows, that objection leaves out of account the fact that by Luther and his contemporaries the preaching throughout all the world, as a witness to all nations, is deemed to have been already practically accomplished. It is true that the Reformer does not assign the nearness of the end as a reason for dissociating the duty of missions from the church in his day ; but this is simply because, even without that eschatological view, he knew nothing of such a duty. True, he asserts once and again : “ Before the last day comes, church rule and the Christian faith must spread over all the world, as the Lord Christ foretold that there should not be a city in which the Gospel should not be preached, and that the Gospel must go through all the world, so that all should have the witness in their conscience, whether they believe it or not.” But then he proceeds : “ The Gospel has been in Egypt, but is now away ; then it has been in Greece and Italy, in Spain, France, and other lands. Now it is in Germany, for how long who knows ? In the eleventh chapter to the Romans St. Paul says also that the Gospel must be preached through all the world, so that all the heathen may hear, that the fulness of the heathen is thus to be brought to heaven. And Christ acts as a thresher : first He threshes out the ears with a flail ; then He casts the chaff into a heap, and gives it to the swine to eat. So did John the

Baptist, so did the Apostles, so have all Christian preachers done; they are all threshers, for the Gospel gathers many into the barn of the kingdom of heaven. Where they have done that, nothing but empty chaff remains." Thus it is a chastisement of God for the neglect of the Gospel when formerly offered that the unevangelical or non-Christian world of the present does not have it now once more offered,—a thought which we shall meet in its most explicit form in the orthodox dogmatists of the seventeenth century. All missionary obligation falls with this, and the thought of hastening the second coming of Jesus by missionary zeal cannot possibly arise.

According to Luther, it is true, the rejection of the Gospel does not bring its course through the world to a standstill. "If men in one place will not hear or suffer Him (Jesus), He goes elsewhere. He will not cease to go through the world with His Gospel until the last day. Jerusalem, Greece, and Rome were not willing to hear Him, therefore He has come to us, and if we also, be not willing to hear Him, He will find others who will hear Him." But this unhindered course of the Gospel is not effected by missions, but by the free activities of Divine grace. And Luther's meaning is not so much that Christ turns to nations hitherto non-Christian, as that such an offer of the Gospel will always take place, particularly within Christendom, whereby "the number of the elect will be fulfilled." "Therefore Christ is called a Branch (*zema*h), because He will be preached unceasingly by the Gospel, and grows and increases in the world, for His kingdom stands in growth and increase until the last day, and ever draws more and new Christians out of the world." With missionary institutions this confident hope has nothing whatever to do.

11. Luther's fellow-labourers all occupy a similar position. More sharply than Luther, Melanchthon, the dogmatic theologian, emphasises the missionary commandment as valid only for the Apostles. The '*locus de vocatione gentium*' [article concerning the calling of the Gentiles] serves him only as a proof that the forgiveness of sins is both '*gratuita*' and '*universalis*'; he does not deduce from it an obligation to missions among the heathen. As already before the time of Christ there was given to the heathen, particularly through the dispersion of the Jews, the possibility of coming to the true worship of God, so Melanchthon considers this possibility as existing also after Christ until his own day. The view, which meets us in the later dogmatists, that God revealed Himself to the whole world in the times of Adam, Noah, and the Apostles, is already found in germ in Melanchthon, who

teaches: "Semper sonat vox evangelii. Data est primum Adae, renovata per Enoch, deinde per Abraham, Sem sparsa in multa regna." [The voice of the Gospel is always sounding. It was first given to Adam, renewed by Enoch, then diffused by Abraham, Shem, into many kingdoms.] God Himself cares for the extension of the Gospel through the world. "Ubique sunt aliqui, qui recte docent, in Asia, Cypro, Constantinopli. Deus mirabiliter excitat vocem evangelii, ut audiatur a toto genere humano." [Everywhere there are some who teach truly, in Asia, Cyprus, Constantinople. God marvellously stimulates the voice of the Gospel, that it may be heard by the whole human race.] Special missionary institutions on the part of the church after the times of the Apostles are therefore not necessary. We find already, however, in Melancthon, allusions to the duty of civil authorities with regard to the extension of the Gospel.

Bucer does not indeed maintain the view that the Apostles had already fully executed the mission to the Gentiles, but yet he affirms that through them the preaching of the Gospel had penetrated "ad praecipuas orbis regiones, ex quibus facile erat, illam ad mortales reliquos omnes dimanare" [to the principal regions of the world, from which it was easy to distribute it to all remaining mortals]. Only, many had again become faithless, chiefly through Mohammedanism. He speaks of a dissemination of the Gospel in his own time, both among those who had thus fallen away and among other non-Christians, specially among those in the newly discovered lands and islands; and he complains that "men seek the lands and goods of Jews and Turks, and of other heathen peoples, but there is little trace of earnestness as to how one may win their souls to Christ our Lord, and that not merely among ordinary princes, who are called civil lords, but even amongst those who are called spiritual (clergymen)." And he prays, "So may now our only true and good Shepherd Christ grant that His churches everywhere may be staffed and provided with right faithful and diligent elders who will neglect nothing in respect of all men, even Jews and Turks, and all unbelievers, to whom they may ever have any access, so that all those among them who belong to Christ may be wholly brought to Him." That sounds quite as if it were a direct summons to missions, but it only sounds so. Of the duty of instituting missions, Bucer, too, knows nothing. He acknowledges that the Lord gives proper Apostles even to-day, "qui regnum Christi ex uno loco ferunt in alium, tamquam legati domini supremi" [who carry the kingdom of Christ from one place to another, like legates of the supreme Lord], with this addition, it is true: "eorum

neque tot habemus neque tales, qui tanta essent potentia spiritus tantove successu in apostolatu suo ornati ut primi fuerunt apostoli." [Of these we have neither as many as were the first Apostles, nor men endowed with such power of the Spirit, nor with such success in their apostleship.] These views distinguish him from the other Lutheran theologians; but finally he too comes to the conclusion, and that substantially on the ground of his doctrine of election, that the church has not to devise any institution for the dissemination of Christianity, but that it is God's concern to effect this through special Apostles. "Christians require to do nothing else than what they have done hitherto; let every one occupy his station for the Gospel, and the kingdom of Christ will grow."

12. Almost similar is Zwingli's position. He expressly asserts that the Apostles indeed filled the greatest part of the earth with the light of the Gospel, but yet that they did not go everywhere; and he infers from this that the work of world-missions which was begun by them must be continued. "Id et factum est et fit quotidie." [That both has been done and is being done every day.] There are apostles still, and "their office is ever to go among the unbelieving, and to turn them to the faith, while the bishop remains stationary by those committed to his care"; and Zwingli contests with the Anabaptists their claim to apostolic succession, because their apostles do not do that. So there would seem to be in his case the presuppositions at least of continued missionary preaching, but he too does not draw the conclusions. At best his view can be thus explained: if in the present time messengers are willing to go at their own risk beyond the bounds of Christendom, they ought to be certain that they have the call of God to their mission, but in what he says there is not a word as to the duty on the part of the church to send out missionaries.

13. In Calvin, too, there is found no recognition of such a duty. He does not, indeed, teach directly that already through the Apostles the Gospel has been preached in the whole world, but "*fulgetri instar celeriter Christum ab ortu in occasum penetrare, ut undique gentes in ecclesiam accerseret*" [that Christ penetrates quickly, like the lightning from the east to the west, that he may call the nations everywhere into the church]. Thus the extension of Christianity is still in progress, albeit the apostolate was a "*munus extraordinarium*" [extraordinary office], which as such has not been perpetuated in the Christian church. "*Docemur, non hominum industria, vel promoveri vel fulciri Christi regnum, sed hoc unius Dei esse opus; quia ad solam ejus benedictionem confugere docen-*

tur fideles." [We are taught that the kingdom of Christ is neither to be advanced nor maintained by the industry of men, but this is the work of God alone; for believers are taught to rest solely on His blessing.] Hence for him also it follows necessarily that a special institution for the extension of Christianity among non-Christian nations, *i.e.* for missions, is needless.¹ Only the Christian magistracy has the duty of introducing the true religion into a still unbelieving land—an idea which, after its later canonical development among the Lutherans as among the Reformed, not only came more and more to the front as a theory, but was also practically acted upon, being recommended perhaps by the example of the Catholic colonial powers, a circumstance which doubtless told in the case of the old Dutch colonial missions.

14. Only one theologian of the Reformation period has been able to emancipate himself completely from the spell of these views, a man whose name has hitherto been almost unknown even to specialists,—it is Adrianus Saravia, a Dutchman, born in 1531, who was a Reformed pastor, first in Antwerp, then in Brussels, and then—after a short stay in England, whither he fled from Alva—from 1582 to 1587 preacher and professor in Leyden, whence for political reasons he crossed over to England for good, and there attained to high esteem, and died as Dean of Westminster in 1613. This Saravia published in 1590 a treatise, entitled *De diversis ministrorum*

¹ [It may be also noticed that Calvin's exposition of the missionary commandment is silent regarding a missionary duty on the part of the Church. The sound exegesis, historic insight, largeness of view, and fine regard to the general scope of the passage, which distinguished Calvin as a commentator, have not failed him in his exposition of these words of the Risen Lord; but they are polarised by the controversies of his time. And so the words of our Lord are shown to be in clear and broad antagonism to certain Romish and Anabaptist teachings; but the command to go into all the world is spoken of only in its connection with the Apostles, not indeed in such a way as to exclude its application to subsequent generations, but yet without any such application.

In Scotland the conditions of the Reformation practically excluded opportunity or room for the consideration of the duty of the church to the heathen world. The struggle for the establishment of the Reformed faith absorbed the thoughts and energies of the Reformers. But as indicating the missionary promise which lay in the sentiments entertained by Knox and his colleagues, it may be noticed that the very first printed and official edition of the Scottish Confession, which they presented to Parliament in 1560, bore on its title-page the text: "And this glad tidings of the kingdom shall be preached throughout the whole world for a witness to all nations; and then shall the end come." Further, the Confession itself is distinguished among the Reformed Confessions by closing with a prayer, which is as follows: "Arise, O Lord, and let Thine enemies be confounded; let them flee before Thy presence that hate Thy godly name. Give Thy servants strength to speak Thy word in boldness; and let all nations attain to Thy true knowledge." It is a prayer for the Divine presence in its conquering, sifting, and strengthening power, culminating in a missionary outlook.—Ed.]

evangelii gradibus, sic ut a Domino fuerunt instituti. [Concerning the different orders of the ministry of the Gospel, as they were instituted by the Lord.] It is not indeed a directly missionary treatise, but it deals with missions in a special chapter, in which he adduces proof that the Apostles themselves could only have carried out the missionary command in a very limited measure, and therefore this command applied not merely to them personally, but to the whole Church in all subsequent times. The proper purpose of the above-named writing is to commend and defend the episcopal constitution over against the Calvinistic. The episcopal office is needed for the maintenance and strengthening of existing churches, as well as for the planting of new ones: so he finds occasion to speak of missions. The chapter in question bears the rubric: "The command to preach the Gospel to all nations binds the Church, since the Apostles have been taken up into heaven: for this, apostolic power is needed."

In this chapter Saravia expounds the following ideas: The mandate to preach the Gospel in all the world, and the duty of missions to all nations, extends to every century until the end of the world—(1) Because it is connected with the promise, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." As certainly as this promise holds good not for the Apostles only, but for all the disciples of Jesus, so certainly also does the command "Go." (2) Because, by choosing fellow-workers and successors in their mission-work, the Apostles themselves testify that to them was committed only the beginning of this work. (3) Because the work was far too great for the few Apostles to be able to accomplish it within the short span of their own lives. And (4) because a long missionary history testifies that, as a matter of fact, the dissemination of the Gospel has been continually carried forward among new peoples. Even to-day the Gospel has not yet been proclaimed to all nations; and it is not fanaticism, but the duty of the church, to be obedient to the missionary mandate, which was only in the first instance communicated to the Apostles. As this is the church's duty, so also for this the church possesses the power. If it is not done, the cause is only the lack of apostolic men and of a living missionary zeal. There must indeed be the possession of spiritual equipment if one is to undertake this great work. But since the individual may deceive himself regarding his call to such work, the power of the church must give him authorisation. This lies in the power of the keys committed not so much to Peter as to the church. If in these expositions the proof of a continuous missionary obligation resting upon the church is vivified by

that of the necessity of an episcopal constitution, still there is disclosed in them a sound understanding of the missionary command.

Unhappily, this disclosure was without any influence upon his contemporaries. On the contrary, in 1592, Theodore Beza, in Geneva, published a reply: *Ad tractationem de ministrorum evangelii gradibus ab Hadriano Saravia, Belga* [Upon the Tract by Hadrian Saravia, Belgian, concerning the orders of the Gospel ministry], in which he not only defended the Calvinistic doctrine of the constitution of the church against the Anglican, but also disputed the interpretation of the missionary command given by Saravia. This command does not extend to the church of post-apostolic times; only, the command to preach the Gospel remains for all time, and every enlightened Christian is bound on every occasion to combat false doctrine and to testify to the true doctrine. It is true, Beza does not deny that the onus of furthering the kingdom of God in all places is laid upon all believing churches; but since he affirms that the Geneva church has also done that, it is probable that he is thinking only of the preachers sent out by it into France, Holland, and England, and perhaps also of the four colonial ministers sent from Geneva to Brazil. With reference to a mission to the heathen, he expresses himself so obscurely that it is impossible to determine whether in what he says he is in earnest or not. For his own part, he says neither that it ought to be effected, nor how.

The discussion between Saravia and Beza did not produce any change in the Reformers' views of missions, although the former wrote a refutation of the latter's reply. Quarter of a century later, the great Lutheran dogmatician, Johan Gerhard, in his *Loci theologici*, entered the lists against Saravia, with far greater severity and dogmatic subtlety; with what scholastic reasons, we shall afterwards hear.¹

15. If, nevertheless, the Reformation period gave birth to two undertakings which have been registered as missions, these have their explanation in the view entertained of the ecclesiastical duty of the civil authority; in particular, of the colonial civil authority. One of these undertakings issued from the Reformed church, the other from the Lutheran. The former

¹ It may only be noticed here how Gerhard refutes the assertion of Saravia that the command and the promise in Matt. xxviii. 19, 20 are inseparably connected. In Matt. xxviii. the command alone applies to the Apostles; the promise annexed applies, on the other hand, not only to all pastors, but to all believers. For in Matt. xviii. 20 it is written that "where two or three are gathered in My name, there am I in the midst of them." If, then, it is asserted that the missionary command is co-extensive with the promise annexed, it would follow that all believers must go to the heathen,—which is absurd.

had to do with the planting of a French colony in Brazil, which one must guard against magnifying into a great missionary effort on the part of the Reformed church. Under the direction of an unprincipled French adventurer, who had outwardly gone over to Protestantism, Durand de Villegaignon, and encouraged by Coligny, who like them had been deceived by false representations, a number of Frenchmen of the Reformed creed went in 1555 and 1556 to Brazil to found there a French colony, which should also offer an asylum to the sorely beset Protestants at home. From Brazil Villegaignon turned to Geneva, and wrote a letter to Calvin, in which he begged the sending out of pious Christians and preachers, that they might exert a good influence upon the colonists and also declare the Gospel to the native heathen. Unhappily, we have not this letter to Calvin, nor the reply presumably sent by the Genevan Reformer, so that we do not know how far he took part in the undertaking. But even if it could be established as probable that the preachers were sent with Calvin's sympathy, the proof is wanting that the Genevan Reformer contemplated an independent mission to the heathen. Four clergymen, besides a number of other persons from Geneva, mostly artisans, actually made the journey, and some 300 Frenchmen joined them. But Villegaignon, who meanwhile had gone back to the Catholic church, treated them as traitors, and banished them from the colony; and since they could not maintain themselves among the natives, they returned home, through great hardships and perils, in a wretched ship, while of five who again left the frail craft Villegaignon condemned three, on account of their faith, to death. One of the clergymen, indeed, Richier, wrote a few weeks after his arrival in Brazil that they had purposed to win the native heathen for Christ, but that their barbarism, their cannibalism, their spiritual dulness, etc., "extinguished all their hope." Besides, the difference of language and the want of interpreters presented an insuperable obstacle. So that, although expression was again given to the hope that "these Edomites might still become Christ's possession" if new settlers should come, the enterprise certainly never got the length of an earnest missionary endeavour.¹

16. The case was similar with the Lutheran so-called missionary endeavour. In 1559, King Gustavus Vasa of Sweden began to incorporate into the Evangelical church the Lapps, who dwelt in the extreme north of his kingdom, and who in the twelfth century had been made nominally Catholic,

¹ Brown, *The History of the Christian Missions in the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries*, London, 1864, 3 vols., i. 7.

but at bottom remained entirely heathen. In reality this state-church mission was more a reforming act of territorial church authority than a proper mission to the heathen, as it consisted only in the sending of pastors and the establishment of parishes. It failed, and that principally because of the lack of missionary qualities on the part of the clergymen who were sent; and also later, when Charles IX. and Gustavus Adolphus eagerly favoured the work. It was Thomas von Westen who, in the second decade of the eighteenth century, first established a real mission to the Lapps. But after his early death in 1727 it almost became extinct, and was revived only in the nineteenth century under Stockfleth (*d.* 1866).¹

¹ Brown, *The History of the Christian Missions in the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries*, London, 1864, 3 vols., i. 7.

CHAPTER II

THE AGE OF ORTHODOXY

SECTION I. IN GERMANY

17. IN the period after the Reformation, until Pietism reached its strength, no real missionary activity began in Germany. The reason of this did not lie only in the fact that the world beyond the sea had never as yet come within the purview of German Protestantism, and that the political conditions, chiefly the unhappy Thirty Years' War, did not allow missionary enterprise to be thought of; the reason still lay in the theology which either did not permit missionary ideas to arise at all, or, if these, began to find desultory expression, most keenly combated them. It was still essentially the views of the Reformers which determined the attitude of orthodoxy to missions, only these views assumed a much more systematic and polemical cast.

There were indeed in the course of the seventeenth century some single enterprises which have been written of as missionary endeavours. Seven pious young men from Lubeck (all jurists, as it appears), who were together in Paris in the beginning of the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, bound themselves together—perhaps under the influence of Hugo Grotius, who was then the Swedish ambassador in Paris, and who, by way of literary help to the Dutch colonial mission, had written a treatise, *De veritate religionis Christianae*, which was afterwards translated into Malay and Arabic—"to awaken the lapsed churches of the East to new evangelical life." Only of three of them do we know that they actually journeyed to the East with this aim. Of two of these (von Dorné and Blumenhagen) we have no further tidings. The third, Peter Heiling, betook himself in 1634, after a two years' stay in Egypt, to Abyssinia; there he certainly exerted some influence, and also translated the New Testament into Amharic. After about twenty years' residence in the land, he died a martyr. His work, however, had no abiding result, for he had no successors; and besides,

it can as little be reckoned a mission to the heathen as the endeavours directed to the revival of the Christian churches of the East in the nineteenth century.

Much less can the embassy to Abyssinia, sent forth by Ernest the Pious, Duke of Gotha, in 1663, which also did not attain its purpose, be accounted a missionary endeavour; or that sent to Persia from the court of Gotha in 1635, in which Paul Flemming, the author of the hymn, "In allen meinen Thaten," took part.

18. But if there was not yet any missionary action, still, from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards, missionary ideas occasionally emerged, at first very fragmentary, isolated, and hesitating, but gradually more consistent, more frequent, and bolder. Only, they met with the bitterest opposition on the part of the most noted leaders of orthodoxy. Following Grössel,¹ the representatives of these ideas may be divided into three groups—(1) such as did not recognise a duty resting on the church to send out missionaries, but who imputed to Christian rulers of heathen peoples the right, even the duty, of Christianising these; (2) such as owned in principle the missionary duty of the church, but did not deem the time and opportunity suitable for the practical discharge of it; and (3) such as, without reserve, affirmed missions to be the business of the church. Praetorius, Meisner, Calixtus, Scultetus, Joh. E. Gerhard (the younger), Duraeus, Dannhauer, Haveman, Veiel, and other theologians were the first to raise their voice, principally, it is true, to complain of the lack of the missionary understanding, or to remind the civil authorities of their missionary duties;² but such voices were very feeble, and as they wanted practical point, they died away almost altogether unheard.

19. Over-against these friends of missions, however, there was an overwhelming band of adversaries, who, at the utmost, recognised a missionary duty on the part of colonial authorities, or limited that duty to the occasional testimony of Christians living among non-Christians. And it was dogmatic confusion,

¹ Grössel, *Die Mission und die evangelische Kirche im 17. Jahrhundert*, Gotha, 1897.

² Prayers for missions, however, find utterance in several church hymns of the seventeenth century, as, e.g. in Boehm's "O König aller Ehren," and later in Gryphius' "Erhalt uns reine Lehre," P. Gerhard's "Was Weisheit in der Welt," and Olearius' "Komm du werthes Lösegeld."

On the basis of a sound exposition of the missionary commandment, Amos Comenius, a far-seeing member of the church of the Bohemian Brethren, includes missions among the essential activities of a living church. In particular, this great man had in his mind the idea of translating the Bible into Turkish and sending it to the Sultan. His missionary ideas are found in the treatise which appeared in 1644-45, *Judicium duplex de regula fidei*.

pervverting both exegesis and history, which motived the repudiation of the missionary obligation. The confusion consisted substantially in this—(1) the missionary charge was limited to the Apostles, and it was regarded as a historic fact that the Apostles had already proclaimed the Gospel to the whole world; and (2) there was constructed an artificial theory of the apostolic office and its diversity from the office of preaching, from which the inference was drawn, that the church had no call to missions to the heathen, and no authority to impart such a call. Out of this host of adversaries we recall only the best known names—Porta, Hunnius, Ehinger, Joh. Müller, Balduin, Brochmand, Eichsfeld, Osiander, Musäus, Fecht, Zentgrav. We submit a little in detail only two characteristic testimonies from authoritative quarters and of far-reaching influence, which perhaps most signally illustrate the negative attitude of orthodoxy to missions.

Count Erhardt Truchsess of Wetzhausen addressed himself to the Theological Faculty of Wittenberg, one of the leading representatives of Lutheran orthodoxy, that, amongst other matters, he might elicit an answer to the "Scruple": "Since faith comes alone from preaching, I would know how East and South and West shall be converted to the only saving faith, since I see no one of the Augsburg Confession go forth thither, . . . so reasonable must it surely be to obey the command of Christ, '*Ite in mundum universum*'" [Go ye into all the world], and so forth. In reply, the Faculty issued an Opinion, the substance of which is to us of to-day almost incomprehensible, and is somewhat as follows:—(1) The command *Ite mundum universum* is only a *personale privilegium* of the Apostles, like the gift of miracles, and has actually been already fulfilled, as these Scripture passages prove, Mk. xvi. 20; Rom. x. 18; Ps. xix. 4, etc., Col. i. 23. Else in virtue of such a command all and every preacher, even the Pope himself, must go out and preach in all the world, which nevertheless does not take place. On the ground of Acts xiv. 23, xx. 18; 1 Pet. v. 1; Tit. i. 5, it is then inferred that, since the Apostles appointed bishops and preachers here and there who should tend only the church of Christ specially entrusted to them, therefore neither Papists nor Lutherans can show a distinct Divine command to preach in all the world, but each is bound to remain by his church to which he has been duly called. (2) But if it is asked, How then shall the East, the South, and the West be converted to the Christian faith, since no one of the adherents of the Augsburg Confession goes forth thither, the answer is, that no man is to be excused before God by reason of ignorance, because He has not only revealed Himself to all men through the light of

nature (Rom. i. and ii.; Acts xvii. 27); "but also in different ages, through Adam, Noah, and the holy Apostles, He has been preached to the whole human race." If they now sit in darkness, that is the punishment of their heedlessness and ingratitude. "God is not bound to restore to such nations '*quod semel juste ablatum est*' [what has once been justly taken away], just as a judge is not bound to give back life or money or goods to an evil-doer from whom by judgment and justice they have once been taken, and in '*crimine laesae majestatis*' the children and descendants must suffer for the misdeeds of their ancestors." The Opinion appeals in proof to Acts xiii. 46, and xviii. 6, and then it adds in milder strain that amongst Turks, papal potentates, and barbarous non-Christian peoples "there are always found, by the decree of God, many Christians by whom they may be guided, and ever and anon by the wondrous gracious order of God true believers have suffered, and could in this way do service to God by which others may be brought to the true knowledge of Him." (3) It belongs to the guardians and nurses of the church, that is, to the powers of the state which, whether '*jure belli*' or by other lawful means, have brought such sinners and non-Christian nations under their sway, and to the high sovereign authority which the state has over the church, specially to promote right worship, to build churches and schools, and to appoint preachers, so that everywhere the true knowledge of God shall be spread,"—a duty of the authorities which the Faculty urges by the example of the kings of Israel.

20. With almost greater austerity, at an earlier date, does Joh. Gerhard, the great dogmatic theologian of Jena (*d.* 1637), state the reason for the negative attitude of orthodoxy in his time towards missions to the heathen in his *Loci theologici*, particularly "De ecclesia" (xxiii.) and "De ministerio ecclesiastico" (xxiv.). He also understands by the "*vocatio universalis*" [universal call] the revelation of God to all men in the time of Adam, in the time after the flood, and in the time of the Apostles. These last actually preached the Gospel to all nations, or at least the report or echo of their preaching extended to all nations. Proof for this he finds in the four Scripture passages already quoted in the Wittenberg Opinion. Those nations to whom the Apostles preached, "*ex quibus omnes familiae nationum, linguarum et gentium sunt propagatae, debuissent sinceritatem verbi ad posteros propagare, quod vero illud non fuerit factum, id cum hominum culpa contigerit nec vocationis universalitati nec divinae liberalitati quidquam praejudicat*" (sec. 40) [from which all families of nations, tongues, and peoples are descended, ought to have

propagated the sincere matter of the Word to their descendants; that they have not done this happens by the fault of men, and does not in the least prejudice either the universality of the call, or Divine liberality].

But yet more surprising is the historical evidence by which the great dogmatic theologian maintains the reality of the universal preaching of the Gospel in the apostolic age. His attempt is an instructive illustration not only of the uncritical and naïve, but also dogmatically biassed treatment of history which prevailed at the time; and therefore we must here reproduce it at somewhat greater length.

The paragraph (sec. 186) in which Gerhard repels the Romish pretension, that the majority of Christians are under the sway of the Pope, discovers marvellous things: in Great Tartary there are more Christians than in all Europe, who are not Romish, but adhere to a purer faith; India is full of Thomasites, Egypt of Jacobites. "*Supra Egyptum panditur ingens illud christiani Ethiopum monarchae pretiosi Johannis imperium, qui regnis plus minus quadraginta dominari dicitur*" [Above Egypt extends the huge kingdom of John, the excellent Christian monarch of the Ethiopians, who is said to rule not less than forty kingdoms],—all full of evangelically minded Christians since the days of the Ethiopian Eunuch. Even in Tunis, Fez, and Morocco true Christianity has its lodging. But even these unsophisticated statements are surpassed in sec. 188. Here, first, the "*modus conversionis*" which the Jesuits employed in "*novo orbe*" (America) is described as "*tyrannicus, crudelis et apostolico longissime discrepans*" [tyrannical, cruel, and as far as possible divergent from the apostolical]; then protest is made against their assertion, "*nomen Christi in illis insulis antea nunquam auditum fuisse*" [that the name of Christ had never before been heard in these islands], and it is averred that America had been known to the ancients, and had only again been forgotten and closed: "*verisimile igitur est, apostolicam evangelii praedicationem jam olim ad illa loca pervenisse, cum Paulus (Col. i. 23; Rom. x. 16) testatur, evangelium in toto orbe fructifasse ac primis ecclesiae Christianae temporibus null gens fuerit nota, ad quam evangelii praedicationis sonus nondum pervenerit*" [it is therefore very probable that an apostolic preaching of the Gospel reached already long ago to those places, since Paul testifies that the Gospel had brought forth fruit in the whole world, and in the early times of the Christian church there was no nation known to which the sound of the Gospel had not reached], which is established by a host of quotations from Justin, Tertullian, Jerome, Ambrose, Irenaeus, Chrysostom,

and Augustine. But the line of proof becomes still more monstrous. The ancient Mexicans received Christianity from the Ethiopians, because with them, as with the latter, there is found a connection of baptism with circumcision. The ancient Brazilians must have known it, because an old man assured Joh. Leri¹ of having heard about their ancestors, that long time since a bearded foreigner had brought to the land a message like that which he now brought; only, it had not been believed, and had again been forgotten. The ancient Peruvians had known Christianity, because they believe in an immortality of the soul, a resurrection of the dead, and a great universal flood. And in similar manner the acquaintance of the ancient Indians and Chinese with Christianity is demonstrated. The Brahmins know of incarnations, of holy days, of the Ten Commandments, etc.; and in China there has been found a picture of three heads looking to one another (the Trinity), a picture of a maiden with a child, and another of twelve men, who had become famous through their wisdom and had been transformed into angels. Books also have been preserved by them, according to which the Apostle Thomas had journeyed in China.²

Alongside of this historical demonstration of the alleged universal extension of Christianity in the past, Gerhard uproots every missionary idea in his dogmatic discussions on the apostolate, which were invested with all the dignity of church doctrine.

¹ One of the four colonial clergymen sent out from Geneva to Brazil, who left a *Historia navigationis in Brasiliam*.

² This dogmatically biassed, unhistoric conception, that the Apostles preached the Gospel to the whole world, lasted into the eighteenth century. Joh. Albert Fabricius records it as still prevailing up to 1731, but for himself does not defend it. This erudite theologian of Hamburg has written a large book, of 930 quarto pages, showing marvellous reading, concerning the extension of Christianity up to his time, a book, indeed, which must be called less a history of missions than a catalogue of missionary literature. It bears the circumstantial title: *Salutaris lux evangelii toti orbi per divinam gratiam exorients, sive notitia historico-chronologica literaria et geographica propagatorum per orbem totum Christianorum sacrorum* (Hamburg, 1731). In this work Fabricius registers, with almost faultless completeness, the literary testimonies from the most ancient times onwards, which bear upon the spread of Christianity, along with a modest attempt at historic criticism. Thus in chap. 5: *Amplitudo et successus propagatæ per apostolos lucis evangelicæ*, he contents himself, after enumerating authenticated facts, with designating such as are legendary as *traditiones non perinde certæ*, and in the survey which he takes of the countries of Europe (chaps. 15-23), as of Asia and Africa (chaps. 32-46), he at least avoids gross unhistoric exaggeration. He very decidedly contradicts the assumption that the Apostles had formerly preached even in America, and in this connection he ventures, in harmony with Joh. Quistorp, whom he cites, to declare that the assertions of the Apostles and the Fathers of the church as to the preaching in the whole world having had place in their time, must partly be referred only to the world as known to them, and partly be understood as hyperbole (p. 766).

Locus xxiv. cap. v. sec. 220 reads: "In apostolatu consideratur: 1, ministerium docendi evangelium et administrandi sacramenta cum potestate clavium; 2, ἐπισκοπή, inspectio non solum gregis dominici sed etiam aliorum presbyterorum; 3, potestas praedicandi in toto terrarum orbe cum immediata vocatione, dono miraculorum ὑπεροχῇ αὐτοπιστῶ ac privilegio infallibilitatis conjuncta." [In the apostolate there is to be regarded: 1, the ministry of preaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments with the power of the keys; 2, supervision not only of the flock of God, but even of other presbyters; 3, authority to preach in the whole world, conjoined with an immediate call, the gift of miracles, the prerogative of eye-witnesses, and the privilege of infallibility.] Whilst the first two attributes of the apostleship passed over to the servants and office-bearers of the church, and so were continuous functions, Gerhard teaches: "Respectu tertii nullus fuit apostolorum successor. Mandatum praedicandi evangelium in toto terrarum orbe . . . cum apostolis desiit." [With respect to the third, there was no successor of the Apostles. The command to preach the Gospel in the whole world ceases with the Apostles.] There are lacking now the "vocatio immediata," the "infallibilitas," the "θαυματουργία miraculosa," the "praedicatio ad nullum certum locum restricta," and the "visio Christi in carne." Then in secs. 221-225 all the pleas which might be adduced in favour of a continuous missionary obligation on the part of the church are, with scholastic dogmaticism, refuted as absurd.¹

21. It is obvious that, with such dogmatic views and with views of history so prejudiced by dogma, an impartial exposition of the missionary charge was as impossible as was its practical execution. And up to the eighteenth century these views dominated almost all orthodoxy. Moreover, they had a still deeper basis, namely, a too one-sided legal emphasis on the doctrines of grace, which, while powerfully admonishing to the acceptance of grace, laid too little stress upon the duty of serving God, which is involved in that acceptance. In connection with the limitation of the universality of the Divine call, and with the satisfaction created by the assurance of one's own standing in the faith, the Reformed, and especially the Lutheran, doctrine of grace encouraged a certain passiveness in believers, which checked energetic action, both inward and outward. As long as this narrowness and one-sidedness remained unchanged, missionary life was impossible. And the change came not suddenly but gradually. A demand arose

¹ These refutations are specially directed against Hadrian Saravia, as has been already indicated, p. 22.

for the bettering of the Christian life, which in large measure consisted in a dead ecclesiasticism; and in connection with this reform missionary voices were lifted up, until by degrees the doctrinal confusion which repressed missionary life was overcome.

22. The first who came forward was not a theologian, but one who with great earnestness set before the Lutheran church the duty of obeying the missionary command by sending out messengers of the Gospel to the heathen. This missionary prophet was the scion of a noble Austrian family, born in Chemnitz in 1621, and educated in Ulm, Baron Justinian von Weltz.¹ At first, indeed, his call to awake was only the voice of one crying in the wilderness; but the missionary idea, which had hitherto scarcely received attention, soon set missionary discussion agoing, and although the controversy had for a time only a theoretical result, the practical results followed afterwards.

There were chiefly two ideas which animated this remarkable nobleman: an uplifting of Christian life and a practical manifestation of faith by the extension of the Gospel in the non-Christian world. The former, to which he had been moved, next to the study of the Bible, probably by that of the *Imitation of Christ* and of John Arnd's *Wahres Christentum* [Real Christianity], was for him the presupposition of the latter. That is a point of great significance, that for him missions and living Christianity stand in innermost connection. Granted that his treatise on the life of solitude (1633) is not quite free from fanatical sentiments, still it is permeated by sacred earnestness. Shortly after this treatise, which was a call to repentance on the part of his orthodox but worldly-minded contemporaries, there followed *A Brief Account as to how a New Society might be formed amongst believing Christians of the Augsburg Confession*, in which he specially summoned German students to missionary work. The very title of this pamphlet is again significant, because, although not yet in clear contour, it connects the call to missions to the heathen with the thought of a voluntary association for the work.

From 1664 onwards there followed his three principal treatises, after he had procured a kind of Opinion from many eminent theologians in favour of his project: (I.) *A Christian and Loyal Exhortation to all faithful Christians of the Augsburg Confession, concerning a Special Society, through which, with the help of God, our Evangelical Religion may be extended*,

¹ Grössel, *Justinianus von Weltz, der Vorkämpfer der luth. Mission*, Leipzig, 1891.

by *Justinian*. Put into print for notification—(1) To all evangelical rulers; (2) to barons and nobles; (3) to doctors, professors, and preachers; (4) to students, chiefly of theology; (5) to students also of law and medicine; (6) to merchants and all hearts “that love Jesus.” There followed also in 1664 (II.) *An Invitation to the approaching Great Supper, and a Proposal for a Christian Society of Jesus having for its object the Betterment of Christendom and the Conversion of Heathendom, affectionately set forth by Justinian*. Along with Joh. George Gichtel, who was known as a theosophist, but had been won to his project of missions to the heathen, Wetz laid both these treatises before the Corpus Evangelicorum at the imperial diet at Ratisbon which was charged with caring for the interests of Protestants. But although the matter was there discussed, the memorial presented was simply laid on the table. Concerning this the indefatigable man made bitter complaint in a third treatise, this time published in Amsterdam, (III.) *A repeated loyal and earnest Reminder and Admonition to undertake the Conversion of Unbelieving Nations. To all Evangelical Rulers, Clergymen, and Jesus-loving hearts, set forth by Justinian*.

In order to appreciate the significance of these treatises for the awakening of the missionary idea, it is indispensable that we enter a little into their contents.

Leaving out of account the earnest complaints and accusations which the pious baron brings against a lukewarm Christendom, as also the intense questionings and exhortations which he addresses to it, we reproduce only the grounds upon which he urges the necessity of missionary work, the refutations by which he shows the refusal of that work to be untenable, and the proposals which he makes for its practical furtherance.

As grounds of missions he adduces—(1) The will of God to help all men and to bring them to the knowledge of the truth (1 Tim. ii. 4). This can only be brought to pass by means of regular missionary preaching of the Gospel (Rom. x. 18). This will of God binds us to obedience,—compare the missionary commandment,—and love to man must even of itself make us willing to obey. (2) The example of godly men, who in every century from the times of the Apostles onward, without letting themselves be terrified by pain, peril, or persecution, have extended the kingdom of Christ among non-Christians. (3) The petitions in the liturgy that God may lead the erring to the knowledge of the truth and enlarge His kingdom. If these petitions are not to remain mere forms of words, we must send out able men to disseminate evangelical truth.

(4) The example of the Papists, who founded the society "De propaganda fide," must rouse us to emulation that we may extend the true doctrine among the heathen.¹

To these leading motives Weltz adds a convincing refutation of the seeming reasons which orthodoxy offered as valid against practical mission work. (1) That the missionary commandment was for the Apostles only. Leaving out of view that this conception contradicts the whole history of missions, he rejoins: "It must ever remain true, what Christ said, that His words shall not pass away. If the words of Christ cannot pass away, why then do we believing Christians let the words, which He so plainly spake before His ascension, have no worth for us? Every impartial reader who loves the truth may clearly discern that this command of Christ applies to the church of to-day, and may thus conclude that if Christ charged the Apostles to continue to teach Christians all that He had commanded them, He bade them also teach Christians that in every age they should send out able men, and say to them, 'Go, teach and instruct in the Christian faith.' For how does it consist that Christ should have bidden the Apostles teach Christians to obey all His behests, except the foregoing words 'Go ye . . . ?'" (2) That the Gospel may not again be preached where its light has been extinguished. "The disciples of the Apostles and others had already kindled the light of the Gospel in these lands; but since it was extinguished it had to be kindled again by Severus, Amandus, Arbopastus, Gallus, Columbanus, Boniface, and others; and that is answer to those who say it is enough that the Apostles once converted heathendom. Love constrains to redeliver the captives." (3) That without a call no preacher has a right to go to the heathen, and that preachers who have been called are designated to their congregations. "Concerning the call to this work, the law of love bears not only on the clergy, but upon all Christians, nor is God so bound as that He may not call a man to it 'extraordinarie.' Who called the prophets in Old Testament times? Who in the first Christian ages sent

¹ In the Catholic polemic against Protestantism, the reproach that the churches of the Reformation did no missionary work played a significant part. That reproach might well have led them to reconsider their negative attitude towards missions to the heathen; instead of which, Protestant theologians constantly seek to justify that attitude on the unreasonable grounds: the extension of the church over all nations is no real work of the church; only the Apostles had a proper missionary call; any, however, who without a special commandment go to the heathen of their own accord, act against the God-given call which appoints teachers to their congregations. Weltz is the first Protestant who acknowledges the justice of the Catholic reproach, and, because he feels it painfully, he makes of it an argument for the undertaking at last of missionary work on the part of Protestantism.

so many sons of kings and princes as evangelists among the heathen? Did not Ambrose, governor of Milan, become bishop there? Many such might be cited from the history of the church." (4) That Christianity should be raised to a better position at home, and that the Gospel should only then be preached to the heathen. "That would take far too long, and meanwhile thousands of the poor heathen would die in their unbelief and sin. Instant help is needed. The one duty must be done, and the other not left undone, especially as so many students of theology are roaming about idle, waiting for office."

The proposals which Weltz made deal as much with the uplifting of the Christian life as with the extension of the Gospel. We only sketch the latter shortly. They bear in part the stamp of generality, and also of uncompleteness and impracticableness, a defect which, besides the peculiar difficulties of the matter, had for its reason that Weltz did not wish to discover his projects to the Papists.¹ (1) A society shall be founded, the aim of which shall be the extension of the kingdom of Christ both within and beyond Christendom. This society shall embrace confessors and followers of Jesus of all ranks, but especially such as are educated, and shall organise itself into 'promotores,' 'conservatores,' and 'missionarii.' The 'promotores' shall, from their social position, care chiefly for the collection of the necessary funds; the 'conservatores' shall partly conduct the correspondence and in every way represent and commend the society, and partly as teachers of languages train those who are to be sent out; the 'missionarii' shall go to the heathen. As such Weltz had principally students in view, but also young men of good parts who should be specially prepared for their calling by professors in a "Collegium de propaganda fide." (2) As for actual missionary work, Weltz imposes upon the 'missionarii,' besides a thorough study of the country, people, religion, and language, the duty, in particular, of literary labour (translations), and of the gathering of congregations, and also the sending home of reports. And (3) as mission fields he proposes the Danish, Swedish, and Dutch colonies, and this probably because, like all his contemporaries, he ascribes before all to the civil powers that govern heathen nations a missionary duty in pre-eminent degree.

As characteristic of the urgency with which Weltz presses his contemporaries to set at last to missionary work, we add the somewhat sharp conclusion of his third treatise on

¹ In a private letter to Duke Ernest the Pious and to Havemann, Weltz takes up this point of view.

missions: "I set you before the judgment-seat of Jesus Christ, Who, righteous judge as He is, heeds not though ye be called high and honoured court preachers, venerable superintendents, learned professors; before this strict tribunal ye shall give me answer to these questions of conscience. I ask, who gave you authority to misinterpret the commandment of Christ in Matt. xxviii.? I ask, is it right that you annul the apostolic office which Christ instituted, and without which the body of Christ is incomplete, 1 Cor. xii.; Eph. iv.? I ask you, from Matt. v., why you do not show yourselves as lights of the world, and do not let your light shine that Turks and heathens may see your good works, and also that young students may appear as lights of the world? I ask you, from 1 Pet. ii. 12, if ye are following and are exhorting other young people to follow the commandment of Peter, that you should have a seemly behaviour among the Gentiles, that they may see your good works and glorify God? I ask you, from 1 Thess. i. 8, if ye have brought it about that the Word of God has sounded farther than in Germany and Sweden and Denmark, as Paul so highly commends his Thessalonians that their faith toward God is gone forth from them into all places? I ask, are you prepared to answer for it that you have taken counsel neither with your princes nor with your congregations, nor even been willing to take counsel, as to how the Gospel shall be preached to unbelievers, as did the early church, so setting you a fine example? I ask you clergy if ye are not dealing contrary to conscience when ye pray publicly in the congregation that the holy name of God may become ever more widely known and acknowledged by other nations, while yet ye yourselves do not your part towards this end? Tell me, ye who are learned, if the Papists do you wrong when they charge you with doing no works of Christian love, since ye seek not to convert the heathen? Say, in face of the impartial verdict of God, ye scholars, who let yourselves be also called spiritual, is it right in no way to have put a matter to the proof and yet to say it is not practicable? Wherefore do ye persuade princes and lords that the conversion of the heathen is not practicable in this age, while you have neither yet tried it nor suffered it to be tried in any land? Say, ye hypocrites, where do ye find in the Bible the word 'impracticable'? Did the Disciples and Apostles, when Christ sent them forth, answer Him thus, 'Master, this work is not practicable in this age'? Had not the Disciples to preach even to those who were not willing to receive them? Oh, what a changed world! Woe to you clergy who act contrary to the Word of God, and to your own conscience! Woe to you, and yet again woe, that ye are not willing to help at all that

the kingdom of God may be spread abroad in the world! I wish not to condemn you, but I thus earnestly entreat you that in the future ye do more for the work of converting unbelieving nations than ye have done hitherto. . . . Ye clergy, if from pride, conceit of wisdom, contempt of all earnest counsel, ye will show no compassion towards the heathen, if, I say, you are not disposed because of your voluptuous life to help the advance of the kingdom of Christ, and to repent, then upon you and your children and your children's children will fall all the curses which are written in the 109th Psalm."

Even this strenuous appeal had no practical result. In disappointment the Baron betook himself to Holland, to follow up his missionary teaching at least with his own missionary action. After receiving consecration as an apostle to the heathen at the hands of the fanatic Breckling, in Zwoll, having laid aside his baronial title, and having deposited in Ratisbon a large sum of money for the furtherance of his projects, he went to Dutch Guiana, where he soon found a lonely grave. If the zeal of this first advocate of missions within the Lutheran church may have had in it something offensive to the orthodox clergy, yet we must not, with Plitt, call him a "missionary fanatic." That is a gross injustice, only to be accounted for by the prejudice which seeks to excuse the hostility to missions displayed by the old dogmatic theologians. The indubitable sincerity of his purposes, the noble enthusiasm of his heart, the sacrifice of his position, his fortune, his life for the yet unrecognised duty of the church to missions, insure for him an abiding place of honour in missionary history.

23. How little the Lutheran clergy understood this duty, is manifest from the detailed and sharp refutation of the missionary projects of Weltz by the otherwise excellent "superintendent" of Ratisbon, Joh. Heinrich Ursinus, who was applied to by the Corpus Evangelicorum at Ratisbon for an Opinion on these. This critic of missions does indeed in his thesis recognise a relative missionary duty of the church, and even develops many sound views in reference to the opportunity for discharging it; but he ultimately rejects the appeal of Justinian as a chimera, charges him with self-conceit and with blasphemy against Moses and Aaron, reproaches him with a piety of his own devising, a deceiving of the people, a spirit akin to Münzer's¹ and the Quakers', and warns against the proposed "Society of Jesus" in the words, "Preserve us from it, dear Lord God."

¹ [The leader of the peasants in Middle Germany (1725), who taught extravagant views regarding the inner light and the manner of setting up the kingdom of God on earth.—ED.]

The rejoinder of Ursinus bears the title, *A sincere, faithful, and earnest Admonition to Justinian, respecting his proposals for the Conversion of Heathendom and the Betterment of Christendom*. Its contents are somewhat as follows:—(1) For Christians there lie in the way of the conversion of the heathen such high requirements and such great obstacles, that people will with difficulty be found who shall rise to them. (2) The heathen are in a state which gives no prospect of their conversion. What Ursinus says on this point is too characteristic not to be repeated in his own words: “The heathen ought not to be positive savages, who have absolutely nothing human about them. Secondly, they ought not to be fierce and tyrannical, suffering no stranger to dwell among them. Thirdly, they ought not to be obstinate blasphemers, persecutors, destroyers of the Christian religion, which through odious ingratitude their ancestors lost. . . . The holy things of God are not to be cast before such dogs and swine.” (3) “It is not the will of God that to the heathen of this age the way of salvation through Christ shall be shown otherwise than by the ordinary and special means of providence, as hitherto He has willed to lead all in general and some particularly, according to the measure of His grace, to the knowledge of His salvation. For, firstly, there is no nation under heaven so utterly savage as that God has not left to it, along with reason, a portion of His law, by which the heart may be kindled to seek after God, as even also heaven and earth with their witness, and then the manifold chastisements of God and death itself, are an admonition to all to this end. They who heed not such first discipline of grace are incapable of any other; they become ever more savage, and can ascribe their condemnation to none but themselves. . . . Have they not heard? Can they not yet hear? Therefore the righteous anger of God lies heavy upon them, because they refuse the truth in unrighteousness. God is not bound to help them otherwise than He has been hitherto willing to help; nor even to this is He bound. Gracious as He is, He can be angry, to show to the whole world that we must keep what we hear.” As a second argument, it is urged that all kinds of Christians live among the heathen, whose duty it certainly is to manifest their Christianity by word and behaviour. Where there are Christians, missions are superfluous, and where there are no Christians they are hopeless, as, *e.g.* in Japan, China, and Africa. When, in face of great dangers, Justinian makes his appeal to trust in God, that is to tempt God. The God-given call is: Remain at home. “But if the matter is of God, God will Himself further His cause and show ways and means so that the heathen shall ‘fly as doves

to the windows.' " Then the disputant comes to speak once more on the question whether God is bound to resort to other means for the conversion of the heathen, and denies this (under the assertion of the grounds already mentioned) except with respect to the potentates of Christendom to whom God has furnished road and bridge to the heathen, and who may work here and there among them through theologians. "Have we not Jews and heathen amongst ourselves? Is it not far better to preach the new doctrine of Christ to them than to any others under heaven?" The heathen are under the wrath of God, and it is enough that Christians living amongst them shall preach to them. "But that any one reasonable Christian is bound by the command of God to go off with you at your summons: 'Let us go among the heathen,' to abandon his own calling, of which he is certain, or to employ as helps and agents visionaries who, without any Christian intelligence, without any means and gifts, may offer themselves for this, . . . *that* is what you teach and prove! . . . If any one is under obligation, it is you, because, as you conceive, you have a special call and a Divine impulse thereto, which yet not a single true Christian besides has or can feel." We pass over the manner in which Ursinus sets aside also the proposals of Wetz for the betterment of Christianity at home.

24. Notwithstanding this rejection of the missionary projects of Wetz, a reaction took place in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and this through theologians who at the same time exerted a reforming influence on the life of the church. Whether these men were moved by Wetz or from Holland, or whether they were led to missionary ideas through their own enlightenment, cannot be determined to this day. In some cases the influence of Wetz is unmistakable. Perhaps that influence is traceable even in Spener. From out of the increasing chorus of these voices we content ourselves with citing only the most influential. Spener, the "Father of Pietism," preaches thus on the feast of the Ascension:—

"We are thus reminded (*i.e.* by the words "they went forth and preached everywhere") that although every preacher is not bound to go everywhere and preach, since God has knit each of us to his congregation, which he cannot leave without a further command, the obligation nevertheless rests on the whole church to have care as to how the Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, and thus may continually be carried to other places whither it has not yet come, and that to this end no diligence, labour, or cost be spared in such work on behalf of the poor heathen and unbelievers. That almost no

thought even has been given to this, and that great potentates, as the earthly heads of the church, do so very little therein, is not to be excused, but is evidence how little the honour of Christ and of humanity concerns us; yea, I fear that in that day such unbelievers will cry for vengeance upon Christians who have been so utterly without care for their salvation. Yea, herein the zeal of the Papists puts us to shame, for they by their missionaries and envoys have more earnestness for the spread among the heathen of their religion, mixed with so much error, than we manifest for our pure evangelical truth."

And Scriver writes this in his *Seelenschatz*: "When the soul reads that nineteen parts of the known world are occupied by heathens, six by Mohammedans, and only five by Christians, its heart heaves, tears start to its eyes, and it longs that it had a voice that might sound through all parts of the world, to preach everywhere the Three-One God and Jesus Christ the crucified, and to fill all with His saving knowledge. And if it can do no more, it prays with great earnestness and devoutness for unbelieving Jews, Turks, and Tartars, that God will have compassion upon them. It pleads with prayers and entreatings that in His great love the Lord will raise up teachers and apostles, endowed with the Spirit, with power, and with gifts, and send them to the unbelieving. Ye boast you all of faith, but where is the first-born daughter of faith—ardent love? Look ye, there are yet many unbelieving in the world . . . alienated from the life of God, whose understanding is darkened through the ignorance and blindness of their heart. I speak of heathens, Jews, Turks, Tartars, and other barbarous nations. How do ye think of them? With what ears and hearts are ye wont to hear of them? Does it set your spirit on fire when ye needs must learn that there are yet many thousand times thousand souls on earth who know not, nor honour and worship, your and their Redeemer? Do ye cry daily to God that He will at length in His grace have compassion upon them, and bring them out of darkness to light, out of death to life? Do your hearts yearn that ye yourselves, if it were possible, might preach Christ to such blinded people, even if for that ye should have to suffer poverty, hardship, ignominy, tribulation, and death? Do ye pray God also that He will raise up real, spiritual, zealous men and send them as apostles to such nations? Oh, how few there be who ponder this and grieve over such people! Christians there have been, alas! eager enough to visit unbelieving lands in the way of travel, trade, and commerce, and bring back their gold and silver and other treasures; but how few be-think them that the riches of the Gospel of Christ might be

imparted to them in return. Some with their insatiable greed and thirst for gold, with their cruelty and other iniquities, have put a scandal and a stumbling-block in the way of the poor people, and have scared them from Christ; some have discarded the Christian name while in these lands, that they might have freedom to trade and traffic there and seek their gain. . . . Now, ye Christian souls, heed these things more diligently for the future, and pray with more thoughtfulness the words of the Litany: 'Tread Satan under our feet, send forth true labourers into Thy harvest, give Thy Spirit and power to Thy Word, have mercy on all men. Hear us, dear Lord God.'"

These laments, exhortations, and longings were followed by a practical project, namely, that of the founding of a "Collegium de propaganda fide," which subsequently dwindled to a "Collegium orientale" for training of teachers for Jews and Turks. The initiators of this project, which was approved in many quarters, even by the Theological Faculty of Greifswald, were two professors of Ki¹, Raue and Wasmuth. But when all was ready for bringing the enterprise into life, no helping hands were found, and so it died.¹

25. Besides the theologians, a philosopher of world-wide fame, Baron von Leibnitz, came forward at the close of the century as a vigorous advocate of missions.² It was not so much his travels in Holland and England, or his studies in languages and geography, still less his philosophical theories, which led Leibnitz to missionary ideas. Rather, it was his intercourse with the Jesuit missionaries to China, dating from his stay in Rome, but which seems later to have been broken off. This intercourse turned his attention to China as a field for missionaries thoroughly trained in Lutheran theology and in languages. As a connecting road he fixed his eye on Russia, upon whose emperor, Peter the Great, he set large hopes, and with whose advisers he had many negotiations. With reference to methods of missionary work, and especially to the character of missionary preaching, he offers some suggestions in the preface to the little work entitled *Novissima Sinica*, a collection of letters from the Catholic mission, in which he speaks chiefly of a true and a false accommodation. Leibnitz urged his plan with great earnestness, particularly on the great ones of the earth. He had it embodied also in a more general form in the regulations of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, founded in July 1700, in the charter of whose consti-

¹ Similar Eastern projects were at that time cherished also in other circles. Kramer, *Aug. Herm. Francke*, Halle, 1880.

² Plath, *Die Missionsgedanken des Freiherrn von Leibnitz*, Berlin, 1869.

tution it stands: "Since experience shows that true faith, Christian morals, and real Christianity cannot be better advanced, alike within Christendom and among distant unconverted nations, next to the blessing of God, along the line of ordinary means, than by men such as, besides being of pure and blameless life, are equipped with understanding and knowledge, we will that our Society of Sciences shall charge itself with the propagation of the true faith and Christian virtue under our protection (*i.e.* the protection of the Elector); yet it is permitted to the society to receive and employ people of other nations and religions, though always with our previous knowledge and gracious approval."

The brilliant project of Leibnitz, it is true, never even began to be carried into effect. Yet the impulse emanating from the philosopher did not fall into altogether barren soil, for it helped forward on its way the missionary movement of Pietism which was just originating. It sounds almost as a prophecy when Leibnitz in his second memorial, with reference to the founding of the above-named Academy, thus expresses himself:—

"Yea, to say still more, who knows whether God did not permit the pietistic controversies, otherwise almost offensive, amongst the Evangelicals for the very purpose that devout and right-minded clergymen, who had found protection under the grace of the Elector, might be at hand for the better furthering of this supreme work 'fidei purioris propagandæ,' and for combining the reception of true Christianity amongst ourselves and beyond with the growth of real learning, and the increase of the general good as 'funiculo triplici indissolubili'?"

The *Novissima Sinica* came into the hands of Aug. Hermann Francke, who addressed to Leibnitz a letter regarding it. That letter, indeed, is not extant, but we have the interesting answer which the latter gave, and which is a fine testimony to the genuine interest in missions which animated the philosopher. Although there was never any active intercourse between the two men, yet it admits of no doubt that the missionary ideas of Leibnitz bore fruit in Francke, and so helped towards the first missionary activity of Protestant Germany. This, however, belongs to the following chapter. Meantime we must take a glance at the fields of Protestantism outside of Germany.

SECTION II. OUTSIDE OF GERMANY

26. We begin with **Holland**. From the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards, the distribution of possessions beyond the sea underwent a change, in that Protestant powers first

contested, then divided, and at last far surpassed the dominion on the sea which had hitherto been mainly in the hands of the Catholic powers of Portugal and Spain. The heathen world beyond the sea was thus brought directly within the purview of the Protestant nations also; and where that was the case religious life received a missionary impulse sooner than in Germany. The first of the Protestant colonial powers to undertake actual mission work was the Netherlands, which after their heroic emancipation from the Spanish yoke became a rising political and commercial power, drove the Portuguese from most of their East Indian possessions, and in a comparatively short time founded a considerable colonial empire in the Moluccas, Ceylon, Formosa, and the great Malaysian islands. True, there was lacking here also a living missionary spirit which would have inspired the Evangelical congregations with missionary zeal from inward religious motives; it was lacking, because the duty of missions was conceived as substantially an obligation of the colonial government, which lay in the hands of the East Indian Handelsmaatschappij, founded in 1602. This commercial society, known under the name of the East India Company, was distinctly bound by its state charter to care for the planting of the church and the conversion of the heathen in the newly won possessions. Probably this was due to the remembrance of the converting activity of the Portuguese during their earlier dominion in the colonies, and perhaps its aim, in the first instance, was the winning of the outwardly Romanised natives for Protestantism. At the same time, the Protestant doctrine of the church power of civil rulers materially influenced such a conception of missions.¹

Missionary work was undertaken by the East India Company before any Dutch missionary writing appeared. The writing of Saravia, already mentioned, cannot be shown to have had any influence on the company, nor even upon the missionary literature which appeared in Holland after the beginning of actual mission work, and which did much to quicken it. This literature was initiated by a writing by Justus Heurnius, who afterwards himself became a missionary, dedicated to the General States and Prince Maurice, and entitled *De legatione evangelica ad Indos capessenda admonitio*. It was quickly followed by other writings from Dankaerts (1621), Teelinck (1622), Udemann (1638), to whom, as witnesses for missions,

¹ The knowledge of the old Dutch mission lay long in obscurity, not only in Germany, but even in the Netherlands. In recent years, however, the sources have been discovered, and many different works based on these sources have appeared, which now render an authentic statement possible.

there are to be added at a later date Hoornbeek (1665) and Lodenstein, who is known as a poet.

27. From the beginning, as has been said, the East India Company was looked upon as the organ of the missionary enterprise. Not only did it defray all costs, but the missionaries entered into its service as preachers, and had in the first instance to undertake the spiritual care of the European colonial officials, who were often utterly abandoned. There were no special missionaries; the colonial clergy were the missionaries. At the outset their position was tolerably free, but more and more it became only a "wheel in the machinery of the colonial government," a position which entailed great hindrances and difficulties. In order to procure preachers, the Company, in accordance with the resolution of its directors, entered into negotiations, through its chambers of commerce, with the "classes" (the local church courts) and the synods, which nominated suitable men and ordained them for the East Indian church and missionary service. But when the lack of such men became marked, there was instituted at the University of Leyden, in 1622, on the explicit recommendation of the Theological Faculty, and according to an admirable plan projected by it, a "Seminarium Indicum," which under the superintendence of Professor Waläus furnished a succession of capable preachers and missionaries. After twelve years, however, it was discontinued, not indeed merely because it cost the East India Company too much, but because its pupils addressed themselves more to the conversion of the heathen than suited the colonial programme of the Company. The "classes," indeed, repeatedly urged the reopening of the seminary; the representatives of the church generally, especially the "deputati ad res Indicas," were never weary of bringing their desires and proposals anent energetic and better missionary work before the all-powerful "Seventeen Gentlemen." Yet characteristically it did not enter the mind of the church to support a mission seminary out of its own resources, not even when the complaint of the lack of preachers, specially of preachers having capacity for missionary service, became more vehement. It is true that a number of excellent clergymen, full of earnest faith, gave themselves in permanent self-sacrifice to the work of the conversion of the heathen, as *e.g.* Dankaerts, Heurnius, Candidius, Junius, Hambroek, Baldäus, Leydekker, Vertrecht, Valentijn; but the majority had little enthusiasm for the missionary calling, and on the expiry of their five years' period of service, for which they had contracted, they returned home. An experience which must remain for all time an earnest warning against colonial government missions!

28. In other respects also it is no refreshing picture which this old Dutch colonial mission presents. In the beginning, indeed, laudable evangelical principles ruled the missionary methods: preaching, and that in the language of the natives; Bible-translation, and the education of native helpers in school and church. But unhappily only in exceptional cases did the work proceed on these principles. At the best the preachers mastered the language of the Malays, but the motley population of the wide Archipelago has many languages, and only in the case of Ceylon and Formosa can it be pretended that they attempted to learn other languages. No doubt there was a Malay and also a Singhalese translation of the Bible; so also in Formosa, some books of the New Testament were translated into the language of the country; it may be questioned, however, if these translations were much circulated among the people. It is also true that by and by three educational institutions were founded for native helpers, but in part they did not last long, in part their plan of teaching was unpractical, in part they did not suffice for the need. Most of the native helpers were not equal to their calling. To this has to be added, that—with honourable exceptions—the mission work itself became very superficial, and, what is still worse, unspiritual, following the Romish method of introducing the masses into the church. The superficialness was due to the number of preachers not being equal to the magnitude of the mission field, while they crowded together in Batavia, and only from time to time, sometimes scarcely once in ten to fifteen years, visited those congregations which were distant and difficult of access, as *e.g.* those in the Moluccas. The example of Portuguese sham-Christianisation worked infectiously. Thousands were received into the church by baptism without heed to inward preparedness, or without imparting lengthened instruction. Use was made of all kinds of pressure, now by inducements of outward advantage, again by direct resort to force, by punishments, and by prohibiting heathen customs. When in 1674 one of the kings of Timor declared that he and his people were willing to become Christians, the preacher Rhyndyk was sent “to see to what was necessary,” *i.e.* to baptize the whole people off-hand. In the state of Amboina the chiefs simply received a command to have always at the time of the preacher’s visit a number of natives ready for baptism, and since for every one who was baptized the preacher received a sum per head (*discipelgeld*), it will be easily understood that he was not particular, if, as often happened, he himself was not a man full of the Holy Ghost and of faith. Even against the punishment inflicted on parents

if they did not bring their children for baptism, or on Moham-medans if they used circumcision, no protest was raised on the part of the missionaries. Even the more earnestly minded amongst them were so unhappily subject to the authority which obtained in a governmental coercive mission of this sort, that they made no resistance to it. With such a method of conversion it can easily be understood how, at the close of the seventeenth century, the number of Christians should be given in Ceylon alone as 300,000 to 400,000, in Java as 100,000, in Amboina as 40,000; and no less easily, how the Christianity of these masses was inwardly worthless, and almost vanished when, as in Ceylon, the rule of the Dutch came to an end, or continued to exist only as a dead nominal Christianity when the revolution in the colonial mission policy, of which we have to speak later, took place. On Formosa alone had a better foundation been laid, but there, after the expulsion of the Dutch by the Chinese pirates in 1661, the nascent Christianity was forcibly extinguished.¹

29. A second missionary effort on the part of the Dutch was made in Brazil. It was undertaken in a better spirit, but led to no result. The so-called West India Company, formed in 1621, which directed its first enterprises towards the Portuguese-Spanish Brazil, concerned itself, like the East India Company, with missionary ideas. In the furtherance of these, a German prince, Johann Moritz, of Nassau-Siegen, who in 1636 was sent to Pernambuco as Governor-General, took a conspicuous part. At his request eight clergymen were sent out in 1637, who were to charge themselves with the care not only of the colonists but also of the native heathen. Some of them, Dorifarius and Davilus, translated the Catechism and baptized several Indians. Besides this, Johann Moritz "erected some schools for the education of the young, that they might by degrees be trained in religion and good morals; also several brief formularies of Christian and saving doctrine were compiled, and certain persons were appointed to teach and explain these to the young." Unhappily this missionary enterprise soon came to an end, by the resignation of the governor in 1644, and the giving up of the colony in 1667. The mission most characterised by ecclesiastical independence was that to the Dutch colonies of America, undertaken by the Walloon Synod in 1646. It laid special stress, in sending out colonial clergymen, upon their qualification for missionary service, cared for suitable literature, established sound missionary principles, and also contributed from its own resources to the

¹ Campbell, *An Account of Missionary Success in the Island of Formosa*, London, 1889.

salaries of the preachers. But these comparatively independent missionary endeavours also had no abiding result.

30. In **England**,¹ whose mastery of the sea began about the turn of the sixteenth century, after the destruction of the Spanish Armada (1588), continual politico-religious struggles more than anything else hindered the awakening of the missionary spirit.² These struggles, however, became the occasion of the first missionary endeavours among the North American Indians, and these endeavours, by their reaction upon England, excited the first missionary impulses, which were strengthened by the tidings received through Francke as to the Danish-Halle missions in the East Indies.

In this way, under the religious tyranny exercised by the English crown—the colony of Virginia having been founded by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584—there began, especially from 1620, an increasing emigration of Scotch and English Puritans to North America, which had also its providential side, in that by it the Romanising of North America was checked. These first emigrants, who are known under the name of the “Pilgrim Fathers,” at once adopted the conversion of the native heathen into their religious colonial programme. Even in the Royal Charter which Charles I. granted to the Massachusetts Company in 1628, it is provided “that the people from England may be so religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed, as their good life and orderly conversation may win and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith.” The device on the seal of this Company was an Indian with the words in his mouth, “Come over and help us.” It was, indeed, twenty-five years before real missionary work among the Indians was begun, and meanwhile, unhappily, much Indian blood was shed. At first the “Pilgrim Fathers” disposed themselves in very friendly manner towards the natives, and treated them with justice and kindness; but when, mainly through the fault of other settlers, feuds arose, in which the Indians perpetrated great atrocities towards the immigrants, then they took to arms, moved not only by the thought of the solidarity of the interests of the settlers, but by the idea that

¹ Fritschel, *Gesch. der christl. Missionen unter den Indianern Nordamerikas im 17 u. 18 Jahrh.*, Nürnberg, 1870, 29. A. C. Thompson, *Prot. Missions: their Rise and Early Progress*, New York, 1894, 39. G. Smith, *A Short History of Christian Missions*, 5th ed., Edinburgh, 1897, 132. Graham, *The Missionary Expansion of the Reformed Churches*, Edinburgh, 1898, 38.

² The idea of the naval chaplain Wolfall, who accompanied the expedition organised by Captain Frobisher in 1578, with the view of seeking a North-West passage to India—the idea of converting the heathen to whom they came to the Christian faith—that idea remained as isolated as it was unfulfilled.—Brown, iii. 489.

God had given them the land for their possession, and that the natives were the Canaanites who must be exterminated. They were fain to call their New England Canaan, and the war against the Indians was in their eyes a holy war,¹ a prelude to the tragic history of the dealing of the white man with his red brother: first Puritanism sanctioned war against the Indians by a religious motive drawn from the Old Testament, then the most naked self-seeking legitimised it in the name of modern civilisation. Little, however, as this dark side of the intercourse of the old Puritans with the Indians may be concealed or palliated, it would be one-sided to forget that after and alongside of the conflict there went forward a true missionary work of peace, which, especially in the persons of Eliot and his friends, discovers the most refreshing points of light in the history of the Indians.

31. Even before the supreme judicature of Massachusetts passed in 1646 the resolution to entrust two of the oldest ordained ministers of the church with the preaching of the Gospel among the Indians, John Eliot, the pastor of Roxbury, in New England, who was 42 years of age, and who had acquired a thorough scientific education at Cambridge, had of his own personal motive attempted the first missionary enterprise among them. This noble man has the honour of being the first Evangelical missionary who, not only from the sincerest motives and amid the greatest toils and hardships, devoted his life to the conversion of the heathen, but who also made use of truly apostolic methods in this work.² What led him to become a missionary to the Indians was (1) the glory of God in the conversion of some of these poor, comfortless souls; (2) a heartfelt compassion and ardent love for them as blind and ignorant men; and (3) the sense of duty, so far as in him lay, to fulfil the promise given in the royal charter: the people of New England shall colonise America with the aim also of imparting the Gospel to the native Indians. With utmost diligence he applied himself to learn the difficult Indian language, that he might be able to use it freely in preaching and teaching, and translate into it the Bible³ and other good books. Baptism, which he was slow to dispense, he made dependent on a real change of mind, and, as his old biographer says, he would sooner have shed his heart's blood than have given the cup of the Lord to such as did not bear

¹ The general counter-assertions of Thompson (78) cannot weaken the evidence carefully furnished from the original sources by Fritschel.

² Thompson, as cited, 53 ff., and Fritschel, 35 ff., give the original sources.

³ The New Testament was published in 1661, the Old Testament in 1663; twenty years later a second edition appeared. But the tribe to which that Bible was given is extinct, and now there is scarcely any one who can read it.

the marks of a disciple of Christ. Those who were won to faith he gathered into well-ordered communities, bound together by good rules, and these he sought also as far as possible to civilise and elevate. Besides, he strove to train well-proved Christian Indians of blameless repute to become capable helpers. All this, indeed, did not speed smoothly; along with untold toils there was also much hostility on the part both of the white people and the red. Yet the labour of Eliot was blessed. Not alone that the number of Christians (1100), of congregations (13), and of native helpers (24) grew, though they afterwards declined under the unfavourable conditions of war, but the example of the devoted apostolic man found followers. Specially eminent amongst these was Thomas Mayhew, whose family through five generations gave to the Indians missionaries who were blessed in their work. Almost at the same time evangelical missionary efforts were undertaken amongst the Indians by the Swedish settlers in the colony on the Delaware, which was established by Oxenstierna in 1637, and these were still continued after the colony became an English possession.

32. The missionary work of Eliot, our knowledge of which is derived mainly from the so-called "Eliot Tracts," roused attention in England, especially in London, and soon drew thence financial support. About seventy English and Scotch clergymen, mostly Presbyterian, united in a petition to the "Long Parliament," praying that something might be done "for the extension of the Gospel in America and the West Indies." This elicited from Parliament, in the year 1648, a manifesto in favour of missions, which was to be read in all churches of the land, and which called for contributions to missions. Hence in 1749 arose the Corporation or Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, the first of the three organisations designated by the initials S.P.G., whose activity, however, seems to have been restricted to the gathering of contributions for the mission to the Indians; at least, nothing further is known to have been the case. Under the presidency of the philosopher Robert Boyle, the Society was reorganised, so that it may be looked upon as the second S.P.G. It exists to-day as the New England Company, and expends its funds in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Boyle also bore the cost of translating Hugo Grotius's *De veritate religionis christianae* into Arabic, and a portion of the New Testament into Malayese. About half a century later two more Societies were founded within the Church of England, mainly by the zeal and energy of Dr. Thomas Bray; in 1698 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which aided the Danish-Halle mission in

India, and then Indian missions in general;¹ and in 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the third, and to-day the only Society passing under the designation S.P.G. Its object was the maintenance of clergymen in the plantations, colonies, and factories of Great Britain, and for the propagation of the Gospel in these parts. Accordingly it laboured only occasionally among the Indians and negroes of North America, and not until the second century of its existence did it begin to carry on a widespread missionary work among the heathen.² These two Societies are not organisations of the church as such, but free associations.³

In connection probably with the resolution of Parliament already referred to, Cromwell brought forward a comprehensive scheme of missions. For the defence and furtherance of Protestant doctrine there was to be instituted a "Congregatio de propaganda fide," with seven directors and four secretaries, who were to draw their salaries from the state. The whole earth was divided into four mission provinces, of which the first two embraced Europe, the third and fourth the rest of the world. But the death of Cromwell and the Restoration prevented even the beginning of the carrying out of this scheme.

33. In 1660, Joseph Alleine published *An Alarm to the Unconverted*,⁴ and about the same time another preacher, John Oxenbridge, issued from Boston, whither he had betaken him-

¹ Allen and M'Clure, *Two Hundred Years: the History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, 1698-1898, London, 1898.

² *A Handbook of Foreign Missions, containing an Account of the Principal Protestant Missionary Societies in Great Britain*, London, 1888, 18, 22, 24; and *Classified Digest of the Records of the S.P.G.*, 1701-1892, 5th ed., London, 1896.

³ [This paragraph requires supplementing. The threefold application of the letters S.P.G. does not describe a historical use of these letters, but a modern and inaccurate generalisation. The original New England Corporation (never named a Society) had an administrative board in New England, which employed itinerant missionaries and teachers. The reorganisation of the Company was rendered necessary by the Restoration, and was effected through a new charter obtained from Charles II. by the efforts of Robert Boyle. The present income of the Society, derived wholly from its endowments, is applied also to work amongst the Indians in Canada.—ED.]

⁴ [It need hardly be said that Alleine's book was not a missionary treatise, but a personal appeal to the unsaved; but Alleine was a man of missionary spirit, and when, like Oxenbridge, ejected from his living by the Act of Uniformity, he proposed to carry the Gospel to some heathen country; the proposal, however, was never realised. Among others animated by a missionary spirit, mention should be made of Dr. Hyde, who superintended the translation of the Gospels and Acts into Malayese, and who proposed that Christ Church, Oxford, should be used as a training college for missionary candidates. Nor should George Fox, the founder of the Quakers (1643), be overlooked. He had a clear perception of the missionary duty of Christians, which not only inspired some of his immediate followers to noble, if isolated, endeavours, but through William Penn and otherwise contributed to a true understanding of the duty of Christians towards the heathen.—ED.]

self after a short stay in Surinam and Barbadoes, *A Proposition of Propagation of the Gospel by Christian Colonies in the Continent of Guiana*. But all these missionary incitements did not lead to any missionary action in England itself. Neither did the earnest appeal which in 1695 the Dean of Norwich, Humphrey Prideaux, addressed to Dr. Tennison, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he showed the grave responsibility of England for the souls of the heathen living in her East Indian possessions. The new possession of lands beyond the sea awakened the missionary conscience only in single men, but was far from so doing in the case of the English nation. The powerful East India Company, which in 1600 received its famous charter from Queen Elizabeth, was very far from entertaining any idea of missionary undertakings or even of supporting such undertakings, even at the time when, in 1698, the sending out at least of colonial clergymen was imposed upon it as a duty by King William III. To this, however, we return later on.

34. From 1620 **Denmark** had colonial possessions in the East Indies, and from 1672 also in the West Indies and on the Gold Coast. But with all zeal for the orthodox doctrine, no clergyman thought of bearing the "pure" Gospel even to the heathen living in these colonies until towards the close of the seventeenth century. It was King Frederick IV. who fostered the first effective missionary ideas. That Lütken, who was appointed court preacher at Copenhagen in 1704, who had lived with Spener in Berlin, and had not remained untouched by the influences of Pietism, was not the originator but only an agent of the missionary ideas of the King, may now be regarded as settled. Already, when only Crown Prince, Frederick IV. had concerned himself with thoughts about missions; yet it is scarcely to be inferred that these thoughts originated in purely religious motives; for the Prince in question by no means merits the high praise of piety which has been lavished upon him in certain quarters. Probably it was his conviction of his duty as ruler towards his heathen subjects which led him to missionary projects. But whether that came to pass through an impulse received from some particular person, or as a consequence of the theory of the church at the time with respect to the missionary duty of colonial rulers, or as the result of quite independent reflection, cannot be decided. The fact is that, in 1705, the King commissioned the court preacher Lütken to seek out missionaries for the Danish colonies, after he had given the same charge in vain to two other Copenhagen court preachers. When Lütken found no men in Denmark both willing and suitable, he turned to his earlier colleagues in

Berlin, and this led, through the medium of Joach. Lange, a friend of Spener and Francke, the rector of the Werder Gymnasium, to the call in 1705 of two German Pietist probationers (candidates for ordination), Barth. Ziegenbalg and Heinr. Plütschau.¹ Both, after many petty vexations on the part of the orthodox Danish church authorities, not merely because they were Germans but mainly because they were Pietists, and that the whole enterprise was regarded as fanatical and quixotic, and after a repeated vigorous examination, were ordained at last by express command of the King, and in the end of November 1705 were designated, providentially not to the West Indies, as had at first been intended, but to the East Indies (Tranquebar). But notwithstanding its Danish head, notwithstanding the royal annual subsidy, at first of 6000 marks, later of 9000, notwithstanding the foundation at Copenhagen in 1714 of a "Collegium de cursu evangelii promovendo," by which the mission was made (not an official concern of the Danish church, but) a state institution, the furtherance and the strictly spiritual direction of the mission lay really in Germany, and, in fact, in Halle. Aug. Herm. Francke was the real leader in the matter. Pietism united itself with missions, and this union alone enabled missions to live. True, it was the Lutheran church within which the first German mission arose; not Lutheran orthodoxy, however, but Lutheran Pietism was its spring and its support.

¹ It is an unhistoric legend, that Francke proposed these two first missionaries. They were, indeed, his spiritual sons, but Francke had no part in their appointment. As to the beginning of this Danish-German mission, cf. Germann, *Die Gründungsjahre der Trankebarschen Mission*, Erlangen, 1868, 41; and Kramer, *Aug. Herm. Francke*, ii. 87.

CHAPTER III

THE AGE OF PIETISM

35. It was in the age of Pietism that missions struck their first deep roots, and it is the spirit of Pietism which, after Rationalism had laid its hoar-frost on the first blossoming, again revived them, and has brought them to their present bloom. The various theological objections, by which the orthodox doctrine prevented the inception of missionary plans, began to die, and that even without their becoming the subject of active controversy; virtually, it was only round the theory as to the "call" that there was much debate. And this debate would have been more keen, had it not been theologians of genuine university training whom the older Pietism—as distinguished from the Moravian church—appointed to missionary service. The vision of the religious condition of the world beyond Europe, to which the growing commerce of the world was ever giving truer adjustment, made the assumption of a universally diffused or previously diffused knowledge of Christianity ever more untenable, and so corrected the old expositions of Scripture and the old interpretation of history. But that which brought about the radical change lay in the nature of Pietism itself, which over against the dominant ecclesiastical doctrine exhibited the worth and power of a living, personal and practical Christianity. The energetic seeking of conversion, as well as a general zeal for fruitfulness in good works, begat an activity which, as soon as it was directed towards the non-Christian world, could not but assume the tendency to seek the conquest of the world for Christ. It is true, indeed, that much narrow-mindedness clung to Pietism, and that this in many ways impaired the freshness and the popularity of its Christianity; but notwithstanding that narrowness, so soon as it allowed itself to be impregnated by missionary ideas, there came to it a width of horizon by which it excelled all its adversaries. While derided as "conventicle Christianity," it embraced the whole world with its loving thoughts, and these loving thoughts it translated into works of love, which sought

to render help alike to the misery of the heathen and to that within Christendom. In spite of its "fleeing from the world" (Weltflucht), it became a world-conquering power. It is the parent, as of missions to the heathen, so also of all those saving agencies which have arisen within Christendom for the healing of religious, moral, and social evils, and which we are wont to call home-missions; a combination which was already typically exemplified in Aug. Herm. Francke. Let us now turn back to him.

36. The merit of Francke, in respect of missions to the heathen, does not consist in his having been the first in German Lutheran Christendom to express missionary ideas, or the first to translate these ideas into action. As we have seen, missionary voices were not wanting even in the seventeenth century, and the initiative to the beginning of the Danish-Halle mission came from King Frederick IV. But even before the Danish initiative, Francke had been no stranger to missionary ideas. True, the notable treatise, *Pharus missionis evangelicæ*, discovered in the archives of the orphanage,—the full title of which reads: "Pharus missionis evangelicæ seu consilium de propaganda fide per conversionem ethnicorum maxime Sinensium, prodromus fusioris operis ad potentissimum regem Prussiae Fridericum, in quo veritatis demonstratio, causæ moventes, conversionis præparatoria, tentamen legationis evangelicæ, subsidia necessaria, ut et modus conversionis et conversorum conservatio primis fundamentis delineantur et censuræ societatis Brandenburgicæ scientiarum ut et eruditorum omnium et piorum seriæ deliberatione subjiciuntur" [Lighthouse of evangelical missions, or advice concerning the propagation of the faith by means of conversion of the nations, chiefly of the Chinese; forerunner of a larger work to the most mighty King Frederick of Prussia, in which a demonstration of the truth, moving causes, the preparatories of conversion, the endeavour at an evangelical sending, necessary aids, as well as the mode of conversion and the conservation of the converts, are described in their first principles and submitted to the judgment of the Brandenburg Society, as well as to the serious consideration of all learned and pious men],—is not by Francke, as has recently been proved. Its author was a Hessian theologian, Dr. Conrad Mel, who has fallen into unmerited oblivion. But other works of Francke bordered closely on missions. Evidence of this is furnished in the treatise published by Frick, and composed about Easter 1701, containing the magnificent "Project" of Aug. Herm. Francke for a "Seminarium universale," or the founding of a nursery (Pflanzgarten), in which a real improvement of all classes within and without Germany, in Europe

and all other parts of the world, should be looked for. Certainly, in this "Project" Francke had principally in view the quickening of Christendom, but that he included also "foreign nations," and designated his institute as "*Seminarium nationum*," is ample testimony to his universal intention. Add to this the founding of the "*Collegium orientale*" (1702), and the endeavours directed, in connection with the ideas of the younger Ludolf, to the awakening of the Greek and Eastern churches, endeavours which had as consequence the sending of a great number of the scholars of Francke to Russia and Constantinople; and then, if account is taken of the suggestions offered by Leibnitz, it is evident that the issue of these creative thoughts in real foreign missionary efforts is, psychologically, completely mediated. Besides this universalism of intention, which distinguished Francke amongst his contemporaries, and the powerful personality of the man, who was as mighty in secret prayer as in practical action, as strong in faith as in fact, as narrow as a Pietist as he was wide-hearted as a Christian, there was in effect a threefold qualification which fitted him to be the leader of the new missionary life. First, next to Spener, he was the chief representative of the Pietist movement, which, notwithstanding all its one-sidednesses, first awakened within and beyond the Lutheran church the fresh spiritual life, which became the mother-womb of a true missionary vitality. Secondly, as the founder of the orphanage he enjoyed a reputation far beyond Germany, and exercised a vast influence upon the living Christians of his time. And thirdly, as a most gifted teacher, he knew how to make his orphanage a "*Seminarium universale*" for winning all kinds of workers into the service of the kingdom of God: not that he trained such workers in a school, but that in those who came in near contact with him he stirred a spirit of absolute devotion to divine service, such as he himself possessed in highest measure, and which made them ready to go anywhere where there was need of them. Thus it was quite natural that Francke appointed the missionaries of the Danish mission, that he was their adviser, and that he gathered behind them at home praying and giving missionary congregations. True, he did not succeed in making missions the actual business of congregations or of the church, for the "official" church declined the service. It was (and it remains still) only "*ecclesiolae in ecclesia*," which formed the missionary church at home. But there was this great advance, that from Francke's time onwards missions were no longer regarded merely as a duty of colonial governments, but as a concern of believing Christendom, that individual voluntarism (freewillinghood) was involved in them,

and that this voluntarism was made active in furnishing means for their support. Without Francke the Danish mission would soon have gone to sleep again. In 1710 he also published the first regular mission reports.¹ In short, Halle was the real centre of the Tranquebar mission. It was in the missionary atmosphere of Halle, too, that later the first missionary hymn originated, that of Bogatzky, "Wach auf, du Geist der ersten Zeugen," which gave to the missionary and reforming ideas of Francke expression in classic poetry. It is to be wondered at how a man overburdened with home work, and entirely dependent for the support of his institutions on the free-will offerings of Christian love, developed such energetic activity on behalf of foreign missions and so magnanimously collected for them. But he knew himself to be a debtor to both, Christians as well as non-Christians, and he thought highly of the faith working by love which multiplies itself the more the greater is the field of action which is assigned to it. In Francke there is personified the connection of rescue work at home with missions to the heathen,—a type of the fact that they who do the one leave not the other undone. Home and foreign missions have from the beginning been sisters who work reciprocally into one another's hands.

37. In Germany, still more strongly than in Denmark, orthodoxy opposed the young missionary enterprise, if for no

¹ This first periodical missionary paper continued to appear until the end of 1880, issued by the directors of the orphanage under titles repeatedly changed. See its history in the conclusion of the last number of the *Missionsnachrichten der ostindischen Missionsanstalt zu Halle* (1880, 125 ff.). Since 1881 a popular magazine, *Geschichten und Bilder aus der Mission*, edited by Dr. Frick, the director of the institutions of Francke, in copiously illustrated parts, at 2½d., has taken its place. And the present director, Dr. Fries, continues to issue it.

At the command of Duke Eberhard Ludwig of Württemberg, where a specially warm interest was taken in the young Danish-Halle mission, Dr. Samuel Urlsperger composed in 1715 a short history of the Tranquebar mission, which was ordered to be read on the 19th Sunday from the pulpits of all the Evangelical churches of the country. This has been fully printed by Ostertag in the *Ev. Miss. Mag.*, 1857, p. 23.

On Francke's special work for missions, cf. Plath, "Was haben die Professoren Francke, Vater und Sohn, für die Mission gethan?" *Missionsstudien*, 75 ff.

The *C. M. Intelligencer* (1897, No. 412, note 1) states that the *Missionary Register* which Pratt, the secretary of the Ch. M. S., issued from 1813, and which ceased to appear in 1855, was the first missionary periodical ever issued, and that since its discontinuance there exists nothing at all like it now. Both assertions are wrong. The magazine of the missions of Francke are a century, and the periodical accounts relating to the Moravian missions about twenty years, older. Besides the *Ev. Miss. Mag.* and the *A. M. Z.* there are also general missionary periodicals in America, Holland, and Denmark. In England the only existing periodical of the kind, *The Mission World*, edited by the Rev. G. Carlyle, and published by Marshall Brothers, London, has only reached its seventh year.

other reason than that it was connected with Pietism, which orthodoxy so keenly combated. The most moderate criticism was that of B. E. Löschner, who in his *Unschuldige Nachrichten* (1708) declared himself not positively hostile, but only cool in the matter, and cautioned against countenancing it meanwhile. Most orthodox opponents, however, were much more vehement. By the Faculty of Wittenberg the missionaries in 1708 were plainly called "false prophets," because, notwithstanding their calling by a princely head, which ought to have broken that reproach, their regular call was not established; and the Hamburg preacher Neumeister, author of the noble hymn "Jesus nimmt die Sünder an," closed an Ascensiontide sermon, in 1722, in which he declared that "the so-called missionaries are not necessary to-day," with the words—

*"Vor Zeiten hiess es wohl: geht hin in alle Welt;
Jetzt aber: bleib allda, wohin dich Gott bestelt."*

"'Go into all the world,' the Lord of old did say;
But now: 'Where God has placed thee, there He would have thee stay.'"

Owing to this cool, indeed hostile, attitude of orthodoxy, it was natural that the Pietist circles became the homes of the new missionary life, and moulded its form. If, consequently, certain pietistic narrownesses clung to that life, yet the neglect of the defenders of orthodoxy deprived them of all right to be harshly critical. Without doubt these narrownesses have not been without detriment in various ways to the missions of the present, but—and in face of the one-sided criticism of Pietism, which has become the fashion to-day, it is our duty to emphasise this—the blessing which the overruling providence of God has caused to rest on the missions of Pietism is much greater than this detriment. For the narrowness of Pietism was a safeguard against the mediæval error of external conversions in masses; it led evangelical missions back to apostolic lines, and bred them to a healthy Christian development out of narrowness into breadth.

38. As to the history of the Danish-Halle mission, to which we shall return in our survey of India, let it suffice to note here that from Francke's institutions there have been sent out, in the course of a century, about sixty missionaries, amongst whom, besides conspicuous men like Ziegenbalg, Fabricius, Jänecke, Gericke, Christian Friedrich Schwartz was distinguished as a star of the first magnitude. Amid various little strifes and ample distress, occasioned partly by the colonial authorities and partly by the confusions of war, this—if by no means ideal, yet on the whole solid and not unfruitful (about 15,000

Christians)—mission maintained itself, until, in the last quarter of the century and afterwards, Rationalism at home dug up its roots. Only when the universities, having fallen completely under the sway of this withering movement, ceased to furnish theologians, was the first trial made, in 1803, of a missionary who had not been a university student. Meanwhile a more living missionary interest had been awakened in England, and so the connection which had already for some time existed with friends of missions there, and especially the alliance with the Church Missionary Societies, saved the Tamul mission from ruin. Then later, the Dresden-Leipsic Lutheran Missionary Society stepped into the old heritage of the fathers, after Halle had long ceased to be an active centre.

39. Along with the undertaking of the East Indian mission, the missionary college at Copenhagen turned its attention also to two northern mission fields, Lapland and Greenland. In the former, besides the faithful schoolmaster Isaac Olsen, it was notably the self-denying Thomas von Westen (who from 1716 to 1722 undertook three missionary journeys) and the Swede, Per Fjellström (who was active in literary labours), who sought the spiritual elevation of the still really heathen people. The impulse to the Greenland mission came from the ardent Norwegian, Hans Egede, who, after overcoming great difficulties, went himself and his family to Greenland in 1721, in connection with a mercantile company holding a charter from the King of Denmark. He returned, after fifteen years of abounding activity amid toil and suffering, in order to forward the education in Copenhagen of further missionaries for Greenland,—an effort, however, which led to no real result. Still, his work, which at first he handed over to his son Paul, was carried on from Denmark, though certainly with feeble energy. But even before the departure of Egede, German missionaries joined in the work. They were sent by a community which, from its origin onwards, has been most intimately associated with the history of missions: they were missionaries of the church of the Brethren. It was through this community that evangelical missions took their most decided step forwards.

40. But how came the little church of the Brethren to put its hand to missions to the heathen, and so to open a new chapter in the history of missions? In a manner which may be clearly recognised, it was the work of God. "He tied the threads, prepared the paths, chose and fitted the men, and then spake His Almighty word, 'Let it be.'"

First, as to the human instruments whom God prepared to carry on His work among the heathen, these were Nicolaus Ludwig, Count von Zinzendorf, and the Moravian Brethren,

for whom he made ready a home in Herrnhut. Manifestly it was by the special leading of Divine providence that Count Zinzendorf, who was to become so eminent an instrument for the work of converting the heathen, came as a boy into Francke's institutions in Halle. He says himself later of that time: "The daily opportunity in Professor Francke's house of hearing edifying tidings of the kingdom of Christ, of speaking with witnesses from all lands, of making acquaintance with missionaries (especially Bartholomew Ziegenbalg), of seeing men who had been banished and imprisoned, as also the institutions then in their bloom, and the cheerfulness of the pious man himself in the work of the Lord, . . . mightily strengthened within me zeal for the things of the Lord." Under these influences the pious boy, when only fifteen years of age, formed with some like-minded comrades an "Order," whose chief rule ran thus: "Our unwearied labour shall go through the whole world, in order that we may win hearts for Him Who gave His life for our souls." With his friend Frederic von Wattewille in particular he made a compact "for the conversion of the heathen, and of such as no one else would go to, by instruments to whom God would direct them." Already in early youth Zinzendorf was filled with burning love to the Person of the crucified Saviour, so that he could declare, "I have but one passion, and it is He, He only." And this man, aflame with glowing love for the Saviour, had a peculiar instinct for fellowship. His was not a nature quietly in-turned upon itself, but the craving of his heart was to form societies which were bound to the Lord Jesus. "I admit no Christianity without fellowship," he declared. Besides, Zinzendorf possessed quite a pre-eminent talent for organisation, which made him a blessed 'Ordinarius' [ruling bishop], who knew how to give to every society and to every work fitting order, form, and fashion.

41. But what could the best organiser with the most ardent love of the Saviour begin without instruments? With men of commonplace cast even a Zinzendorf could effect nothing. In order to establish an expansive missionary work among the heathen in that age, there was need of men of extraordinary faith and courage. "The storming column of the missionary host must be a chosen troop of daring energy and persistent endurance." God furnished to the Count that chosen troop. It consisted of a number of Moravian Brethren, who for the sake of their faith had been forced to leave their fatherland, and whom Count Zinzendorf, the grandson of a sire who likewise for the sake of his faith had been driven from Austria, had hospitably sheltered on his estate of Berthelsdorf. On

the 17th of July 1722 the first tree at Hutberg, near Berthelsdorf, was felled, on which occasion Christian David the carpenter exclaimed prophetically, "Here hath the swallow found her house and the bird its nest, Thine altars, O Lord of Hosts." That was the beginning of the church of the Brethren, which gradually attracted to itself at Herrnhut many especially of the ever-increasing numbers of settlers from Moravia, and which hid within itself the human material out of which the Spirit of God makes His witnesses: men of inflexible resolve, stern towards themselves, ready for every labour and privation, perfectly calm amid the greatest dangers, and burning with zeal to save souls.

As to their character, only some examples. When the first missionaries, David Nitzschmann, a carpenter, and Leonard Dober, a potter, went to the West Indies in 1732, their purpose, to convert the negro slaves, was declared in Copenhagen to be a foolish freak, and the directors of the Danish West India Company refused them a passage on their ships. That, however could not turn aside men with the courage of faith, who were certain of their Divine call. When the chief chamberlain, Von Pless, who was well disposed towards them, asked, "But how will you manage at St. Thomas?" Nitzschmann made answer, "We will work as slaves with the negroes." And when he rejoined, "You cannot do that; it will never be permitted," Nitzschmann averred, "Then I am willing to work as a carpenter at my trade." "Good, but what will the potter do?"—"I shall just pull him through along with me." "Verily then," said the chamberlain, "in that fashion you can go with one another through the whole world."

Of a great company of brethren and sisters who in 1734 were also sent to the West Indies, principally to St. Croix, ten died in the course of the year. When the startling news of this sore loss reached Herrnhut, there was indeed, in the first moment, deep depression because of the severe and unexpected blow. But it did not last for long: with the full joy of faith the congregation sang the verse which Zinzendorf composed on receipt of the tidings, and which has become so celebrated—

*"Es wurden zehn dahingesitt,
Als wären sie verloren—
Auf ihren Beeten aber steht:
Das ist die Saat der Mohren."*

"Ten were sown right far away,
As were they lost indeed,—
But o'er their beds stands, "These are they
Of Afric's race the seed."

In January 1739 the Count himself landed on St. Thomas, just when, without his knowing anything of it, the workers there had been cast into prison. Before landing he asked his two companions, "What shall we do if the brethren are no longer here?"—"So be it; *we* are here," rang out the answer. Then he exclaimed, "Gens aeterna—these Moravians."

Nor did the other members of the church lag behind these Moravians. In 1734, along with a comrade who was trained in theology, the physically frail Saxon tailor Gottlieb Israel was sent to St. Thomas, where he laboured with rich blessing. When nearing the island the ship was wrecked, and the faithless crew immediately abandoned it in the only lifeboat. With some negroes, the two missionaries, who had been left on the wreck, sought to save themselves on the rocks on which the ship was shattered, with the view perchance of reaching land from it. For long they found themselves in most perilous plight on the narrow reef. At length Feder, the companion of Israel, tried to save himself by passing over the stones between the reef and the land on to the rocky shore. A piercing cry! Feder lies in the water, and the surge throws him with full force against the rock; for an instant Israel looks upon the death-blanchèd face of the brother, and—the sea has swallowed him. "And what didst thou then, when thou sawest thy brother drowned before thine eyes?" was asked of him afterwards. "Then I sang the verse—

*"Wo seid ihr, ihr Schüler der ewigen Gnade,
Ihr Kreuzgenossen unsres Herrn?
Wo spüret man eure geheiligten Pfade
Sowohl daheim als in der Fern?
Ihr Mauerzerbrecher wo sieht man euch?
Die Felsen, die Löcher, die wilden Strüch,
Die Inseln der Heiden, die tobenden Wellen
Sind eure vor alters bestimmten Stellen."*

*"Where are ye, ye scholars of heavenly grace,
Companions of the cross of our Lord?
Your hallowed pathway where may we trace,
Be it at home or abroad?
Ye breakers of strongholds, where are ye found?
Rocks and dens, and the wild waste ground,
The isles of the heathen, the furious waves,—
These are from of old your appointed graves."*

"How was it with thee in thy soul?"—"I would have been the Lord's, if I had died. The text for the day was quite clear to me: 'How the morning star shines, full of grace and truth from the Lord.'"

When Johann Sörensen was asked if he was ready to go

to Labrador, he made answer: "Yes, to-morrow, if you give me only a pair of shoes." And Drachart, before he entered that land of ice, exclaimed, "Strike me dead, yea, strike me dead." Such stout-hearted, resolute, brave warriors were needed for breaking open the way for missions. God therefore called the Herrnhuters.

42. On the 10th of February 1728 a memorable "day of prayer and fellowship" was observed in Herrnhut. Amid praise and prayer and earnest discourse the Count sat amongst his "Brethren." "The love of Christ constraineth us," and "we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard," was the persuasion of all, and all felt a mighty impulse "to venture something real for God." Distant lands were named: Turkey and Morocco, Greenland and Lapland. "But it is quite impossible to reach them," objected the "Brethren." "The Lord can and will give grace and strength for that," rang out the answer of Zinzendorf, and his dauntless childlike trust so profoundly inspired all, that on the day following twenty-six unmarried Brethren joined together to prepare themselves in case the call of the Lord should come to them. Thus that "Brother-chamber" became a kind of missionary school, in which by all sorts of instruction men were fitted for future missionary service. There now lacked only the outward occasion, which should turn the missionary idea into missionary action. A special Divine dispensation furnished that occasion also.

In the year 1731, Count Zinzendorf journeyed to Copenhagen, to the coronation of his friend Christian VI. For many reasons he had long hesitated about undertaking this journey, but at last he declared confidently "that as a servant of his Lord he could not do as he would but must go," and he had ever clearer presentiment "that by his journey God had secret purposes to serve, which in their own time would be made manifest." Among the circle of sincere confessors of the Lord Jesus who surrounded the Court, Zinzendorf had intercourse especially with the chief chamberlain, Von Pless, and with Count Laurwig, in whose service there was a negro, by name Anton, a native of the West Indian island of St. Thomas, belonging to the Danes. The three Brethren who accompanied Zinzendorf to Copenhagen came frequently in contact with this negro. Their testimony opened his heart, and he confided to them how, when sitting on the shore in St. Thomas, he had often looked for a revelation from above, and had prayed to God for light. In vivid colours he further depicted the wretched condition of the negro slaves there, and told that he had a sister and a brother who were longing for the knowledge

of God. Of all this Zinzendorf naturally received minute information. His stay in Copenhagen led also to his becoming acquainted with two Greenlanders, who turned his eyes towards their fatherland, where for some years the Norwegian Egede had been labouring as a missionary. The Count, however, was unwilling to do anything without the consent of the church, and on his return to Herrnhut he laid before them all the thoughts which stirred his heart in Copenhagen. Two days later a company of singing Brethren went past his house. Pointing to them, Zinzendorf exclaimed, "Amongst these there are messengers to the heathen, to St. Thomas, Greenland, and Lapland"; and so it actually proved. Among them were the first four who offered themselves as ready to go to the West Indies and to Greenland. Almost a whole year was spent in cool consideration of the whole matter; and then when, in respect of Dober, the lot gave answer: "Let the lad go, the Lord is with him," all deliberation was at an end, and Dober went with Nitzschmann to St. Thomas, and the two cousins Matthew and Christian Stach to Greenland.

43. That small beginning was followed immediately by a strong forward movement. Not only were ever larger bands sent to the West Indies, but in that first "Sturm und Drang" [storm and stress] period missions were begun also among the Samoyedes and the Lapps, in Persia and China, in Ceylon and the East Indies, in Constantinople and Wallachia, in Caucasus and Egypt,—which, it is true, had later to be given up; while the missions in the West Indies and Greenland, Surinam and South Africa, and others afterwards begun in America, Australia, and Asia, form until this day the blessed fields of the missionary labours of the "Brethren." There lay indeed in this first busy haste something of the restless temperament of the Count, which by his own confession inclined towards extravagances; and these numerous missions, undertaken in rapid succession, occasioned a wasteful dispersion of energies; still there was something heroic in the little community daring to set on foot such world-encircling enterprises. That a community now existed which addressed its whole energy to missions to the heathen, and so had become a city set upon a hill,—that is the permanent historical importance of the missionary work of Zinzendorf. In two decades the little church of the Brethren called more missions into life than did the whole of Protestantism in two centuries. When Zinzendorf passed away on the 9th of May 1760, he could exclaim on his deathbed, "Did you in the beginning really think that the Saviour would do so much as we now see with our eyes? Among the heathen my design only reached to first-

fruits; now there are thousands. What a mighty host already stands around the Lamb from our service!" Yea, verily, as the inscription on his tombstone reads, "He was appointed to bring forth fruit, and fruit which remains." On his death one of his fellow-workers could say of him with truth, "The present time may or may not recognise it, but it will not be hidden from posterity that this man was a servant of Christ on whose heart lay day and night the salvation of the heathen, and that all ends of the earth might see the salvation of God." It was truth which the pious Count sang on the occasion of the world-renowned communion service on the 13th of August 1737—

*"Herrnhut soll nicht länger stehen
Als die Werke deiner Hand
Ungehindert drinnen gehen;
Und die Liebe sei das Band,
Bis wir fertig und gewärtig,
Als ein gutes Salz der Erden
Nützlich ausgestreut zu werden."*

"Herrnhut shall not longer stand
Than the works of Thine own hand
Have free course therein,
And love unite within,
Till ready we, and willing, be
To be spread out o'er the earth
As a good salt for its health."

The church of the Brethren was a "salt of the earth," mainly in that it was *par excellence* a missionary church, and has remained so even after the death of Zinzendorf to this day.¹

44. The vast missionary energy of the church of the Brethren, numerically so insignificant (numbering to-day about 37,000 souls), is a unique fact in the history of the whole Christian church, and it is explained only by the fact that this church, notwithstanding all the weaknesses attaching to it, is the manifestation of a fellowship grounded in evangelical faith and rooted in the love of Christ, in which the dispositions of Mary and Martha are healthily blended into one. "Missions," writes Baron von Schrautenbach, "are characteristically the common affair,—so perfectly according to the genius of the community that, had they not existed, one could not conceive how they could not but day by day have arisen." Accordingly, the missionary enterprise is the work of the community as such. "The Unity of the Brethren and missions are indissolubly united. There will never be a Unity of Brethren without a mission to the heathen, nor a mission of

¹ A. C. Thompson, *Moravian Missions*, New York, 1882.

the Brethren which is not the concern of the church as such.”¹ Without doubt the church of the Brethren “lives” to this day because of its missions. “It will be difficult to determine,” says Schrautenbach again, “whether these missions have in later times borne more fruit within or without.” “To venture in faith,”—that from the beginning onwards made the little church so brave in action. Its watchword is spoken in the characteristic verse—

*“Wir woll’n uns gern wagen
In unsern Tagen
Der Ruhe abzusagen,
Die’s Thun vergisst;
Wir woll’n nach Arbeit fragen,
Wo welche ist;
Nicht an dem Werk verzagen,
Uns fröhlich plagen,
Und Steine tragen
Aufs Baugerüst.”*

“We will most gladly dare,
While here we fare,
Rest to forswear
That deed would miss.
We would seek labour there
Where labour is;
Nor of the work despair,
But joy in care,
And stones would bear
For the edifice.”

There was no lack of those who offered themselves for missionary service even in the most dangerous fields. Differing from the Danish-Halle practice, missionaries who had not studied were sent out, and their humility and faithfulness gradually overcame the prejudice against the “unlearned laymen.” At the first the expenses were comparatively small; the Brethren were not only accustomed to extreme simplicity and frugality, but had to earn their maintenance by the work

¹ The article “Eine Streiterfamilie” (A Warrior Family), in No. 1 of the missionary paper of the Brethren (1882), furnishes an interesting proof of the living missionary spirit which prevailed in the families of the Brethren. In that article it is recorded that often from one and the same family three, four, or more members entered upon missionary service, and very frequently the children followed their parents into that service. But it is truly a unique fact in the history of Christian missions that through *five* generations members of one and the same family devoted their life to missionary work. That was the case in the family of Böhnisch-Stach, well known in the missionary history of Greenland. In 1740, Anna Stach, who went with her mother to Greenland in 1734, married Friedrich Böhnisch, the missionary already stationed there. Their children and children’s children served the Lord in missionary labour for 140 years. The last of that generation fell asleep at Herrnhut on the 6th of September 1881, after he had laboured for 33 years on the Mosquito Coast. Meanwhile a sixth generation of this family has entered on missionary service.

of their hands. Debts were always quickly discharged, partly by the church, partly by outside friends and well-wishers. With patient self-denying love they interested themselves especially in the most miserable among the heathen "to whom no one else would go." Of mass-conversions—on this point in entire accord with the Pietists of Halle—they would on principle know nothing. "See you," Zinzendorf said to the missionaries, "if you can win some souls to the Lamb"; and Spangenberg declared, "We are persuaded that our call is not to work anywhere for national conversions, that is, for the bringing of whole nations into the Christian church." This principle, as natural under the given conditions as it was practically sound for missionary beginnings, became the cause of the lack of independence in mission-congregations, and of the neglect to train a native pastorate; defects which linger still to-day in the missions of the Brethren, although for a long time now efforts have been made to remedy them. In extenuation, however, we must keep in view that most of the objects of the missions of the Brethren stood on a low level of civilisation, and were formed of populations in part nationally disorganised and degraded. The instructions to missionaries were very simple, and the missionary methods were of a purely spiritual kind. The baptized were organised into congregations altogether after the model of those at home, and these were diligently visited on the part of the missionary directorate, which formed an integral part of the "Unitäts-Aeltestenkonferenz" [the governing board of the Moravian church].

Thus there arose within evangelical Christendom a missionary centre from which, without any ulterior ideas of colonial interest, and without any connection with political powers, but from purely religious motives, numerous heralds of the faith, men of self-sacrificing spirit, and blessed in their labour, went forth into three quarters of the globe,—a missionary centre which, as the living embodiment of a missionary church, summoned Protestantism to follow its example. But there was no following. Not only evangelical Germany, but Protestantism outside of Germany, remained cool and uninterested as regards missions. The reason for this did not lie only in the circumstance that Pietism, which had become the bearer of missions, was both in its Halle and in its Moravian complexion out of sympathy with church circles; there was a lack of spiritual life, and the age of the *Aufklärung*,¹ which

¹ [The *Aufklärung* [clearing-up] is the commonly accepted term for that process which went on during the latter half of the eighteenth century in the philosophic and religious thought of Germany, exploding the positions of orthodoxy and subordinating revelation to reason.—Ed.]

soon set in and brought all Christendom under the influence of a pedantic rationalism, had neither understanding nor inclination for missions. It was no longer the objections of the old orthodoxy which were brought forward in opposition to the duty of missions; but the discounting of the Christian faith, emptied of its mysteries, the indifference to the claim of Christianity to be in possession of the absolute truth, and the consequent form of tolerance, which would allow every one, Christian or non-Christian, to be saved after his own fashion,—these gave to the duty of missions the aspect of something superficial and arrogant. The more this tendency developed into the spirit of the age, not only did the antipathy of its adherents to every missionary effort become the greater, but just so much the more did this tendency fall like a mildew upon the missionary life actually existing. The church of the Brethren, indeed, was only washed round by the waves of the *Aufklärung*, not flooded by them, and held its missions above water,—one might truly say, its missions held it above water; on the other hand, the old Pietistic circles in the State churches were decomposed and paralysed by the *Aufklärung*,—until from South Germany there came a rejuvenescence of the old Pietism, which, in association with the religious revival diffusing itself from England over the Continent, brought forth, about the close of the century, a new missionary life.

Nevertheless, in what it did for missions, Germany, in the eighteenth century, towered above all the other countries of evangelical Christendom. Missionary labourers like Francke, and especially Zinzendorf, were nowhere else to be found. They were assuredly the “Fathers” of evangelical missions to the heathen; the other forerunners of the missions of the present were but as the fringe on the evening cloud. On them and their work depends more or less directly almost all that came to pass on a larger scale in the future for the extension of the kingdom of God amongst the heathen.

45. In Holland the first zeal of the State missions decayed. They had always been becoming more mechanical, and with the dawn of the period of the *Aufklärung*, missionary duty to the colonies was either forgotten or it was discharged in the most external fashion by incompetent colonial clergymen. Most of the native Christian congregations went to decay from want of supervision. More and more countenance was given to Mohammedanism for political reasons, until this tolerance towards Islam became almost intolerance towards evangelical missions. Only in quite recent times has some change been introduced into this perverted colonial policy.

46. In England also the eighteenth century presents no

pleasant aspect. True, in 1701 there came to life "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," designed in the first instance for the British colonies in North America and the West Indies; but the slender growth of the annual income, from £1535 in 1701 to £2608 in 1791, shows that the society only dragged out a sickly existence. For the actual converting of the heathen it made during that time only some feeble endeavours amongst the Indians and negroes of America.¹ More was done by "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." Mainly through the zeal of Anton Wilhelm Boehme, a pupil of Francke, who had settled in England and was appointed a court preacher there, it was early induced to enter into union with the Danish-Halle mission, and to support it with money. Afterwards it took some of the Danish-Halle missionaries, Schwartz among them, entirely over into its service, and in this way was instrumental to a transference of a portion of the Danish-Halle mission-field into English hands. As the result of the circulation of the writings of Francke in England, this mission was in general rather popular; even at court contributions were gathered for it; and in a friendly private letter King George I. at least assured Ziegenbalg and Gründler of his interest in their work.² In Edinburgh also there was formed in 1709 a "Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge," which, however, did no mission work among the heathen beyond some measure of activity after 1740 in behalf of the North American Indians. Amongst the few missionaries sent out by its means, David Brainerd,³ in spite of the shortness of his work among the Delaware Indians, has a name distinguished in the history of missions. He died in 1747, only 29 years of age; but his biography, written by President Edwards, has exercised a great missionary influence: William Carey, Samuel Marsden, and Henry Martyn received decisive impulses from it. Lastly, the Rev. Dr. Doddridge (*d.* 1751) endeavoured to form a little missionary association in his congregation at Northampton and amongst his associates in office, and to train missionaries for the Indians, but his pupils left him from weakness of faith, and the interest in missions which he aroused seems scarcely to have gone beyond the bounds of his parish.

47. Certainly an active part in missions lay near enough to the English at this time, since their supremacy on the sea already surpassed that of all other European nations. In North and Central America, in Western Africa, and above all

¹ Brown, iii. App. I.

² Sherring, *The History of Prot. Missions in India*, London, 1875, ix. 13.

³ Thompson, 117.

in the East Indies, a wide door to the heathen had in this way been opened to them. But beyond supporting the Indian and Danish-Halle missions, nothing was done by England for the extension of the kingdom of God among non-Christian peoples till towards the end of the eighteenth century. And why during that long time does the history of British missions remain almost a blank page?—Because there was lacking the spirit of faith which alone has power to write that page. “With the Restoration a deluge of satire was poured upon the Puritan régime. Court amusements, theatrical plays, and witticisms combined to make Christianity ridiculous, and the fashion of the day was to be a scoffer at religion. In that epoch England produced those ‘free-thought’ writings which have wrought so much harm in the world. Both parties in the Church kept aloof, but the anti-hierarchical party gradually lost the inward power which it formerly had; in the history of that time it figures much more as only a political party, which allied itself to the Whigs. The Episcopal party, however, at the same time suffered a lapse of another kind. In order to counteract scoffers, recourse was had to the idea of exhibiting Christianity chiefly on the side on which it is open to the fewest objections, the side of its ethical teaching, and in order to commend it to the wise of this world the doctrines of faith were by degrees explained away. . . . In short, it was then that the system which is wont nowadays (1797) to be called ‘Neology’ was devised.”¹ How dark the night was which followed on that decline can best be perceived from the conditions which attended the breaking of the new day. The religious and moral decline of the Church of England was so great, that in 1726 Bishop Butler refused the election to the primacy because he thought it was too late to save the church. In the Preface to his celebrated *Analogy* he wrote: “It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry; but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. And accordingly they treat it as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment.” In the upper circles it excited laughter when the conversation happened upon religion. Blackstone, the celebrated advocate, had the fancy, at the beginning of the reign of George III., to go from church to church to hear all the preachers of repute. “I did not hear,” he says, “a single sermon which had in it more Christianity than the writings of Cicero, and it was impossible for me to discover whether the preacher was a follower of Confucius,

¹ Mortimer, *Die Missions-Gesellschaft in England: Gesch. ihres Ursprungs und ihrer ersten Unternehmungen*, Barby, 1897, Vorrede xi.

Mahomet, or Christ.”¹ The great majority of the clergymen, many of whom held several benefices at the same time—one actually 17—which they attended to through miserably paid vicars, “hunted, shot, farmed, swore, played, drank, but—seldom preached, and when they preached it was so badly that it was a comfort that they spoke to empty pews.” The bishops led the way with the worst of examples: they were wholly worldly men. Archbishop Cornwallis gave such scandalous balls and plays in Lambeth Palace, that the king sent him a written command to stop them. At the same time there prevailed, especially in the upper classes, an immorality which stood in flagrant contrast to the beautiful moral sermons which had taken the place of the proclamation of the Gospel. Whoredom, adultery, gambling, swearing, drunkenness, Sabbath desecration passed for aristocratic passions. Among the Dissenters matters were not so bad, but even their communities lay in a spiritual sleep. “In the secure possession of the desired religious liberty they forgot the great living principles of their forefathers, as well as their own duty and responsibility.”²

48. With the religious and moral life in such a sunken condition, it was impossible, in spite of all colonial progress, that a missionary life could strike root. There must first come a religious revival to make the dead bones live, and this revival came,—one of the greatest and most permanent known in Christian church history. It did not come along the way of literature, which Butler and others had entered in defence of the calumniated faith, valuable as are the services which the writings of these men rendered; and it did not come through the labours of the worldly church officers, neither of the State church nor of the free church; these officers only repressed it. It came, as all great spiritual movements have ever come, through individual divinely endowed instruments, who—almost all clergymen of the State church—had experienced a personal quickening out of death into life, and then, as witnesses of this life in preaching of spiritual power, brought about the dawn of a new day. At the head of these men stand John Wesley (1703–1791) and George Whitefield (1714–1770).³ These two men, of kindred spirit though differently constituted, and at a later date severed from one another,⁴ were

¹ The same may be said of many rationalist preachers in other lands.

² Ryle, *The Christian Leaders of Last Century, or England a Hundred Years Ago*, London, 1869, chap. i. Stock, *The History of the C. M. S.*, London, 1891, chap. i. 32.

³ Ryle, chaps. ii.–iv.

⁴ Their followers divided into two groups,—into Methodists proper, also called Wesleyans; and into Calvinistic Methodists, also called “The Countess of Huntingdon’s Connexion,” after their patroness, the Countess of Huntingdon.

from their youth religiously inclined; they sincerely sought the truth, and led a morally earnest, almost ascetic, life; but they did not know the secret of the Gospel of redemption in the blood of Christ, of the salvation of the sinner by grace, and of justification by faith. These fundamental truths they knew not, although John Wesley founded among the students in Oxford in 1730 a society, nicknamed "the Holy Club," for the study of the Bible and for service among the poor and prisoners and destitute persons, which was joined amongst others by Whitefield. Wesley went in 1736 to Georgia in North America as preacher, and at the same time as missionary to the Indians, but did not accomplish much; here, however, he came into contact with members of the church of the Brethren, particularly with Spangenberg, and through them, especially through his intercourse with Bishop Böhler in London, whither he returned in 1738, and after he had in the same year visited Herrnhut, where he met with Zinzendorf, he found righteousness and peace in faith in the crucified Christ, an experience to which Luther's Preface to his "Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans" materially contributed. In like manner Whitefield also owed his knowledge of evangelical truth substantially to German Pietism, as he testifies in his diaries that "through the reading of the writings of Aug. H. Francke the beam of a Divine light broke into his soul like a flash, and then for the first time he knew that he must become a quite different and new creature." Both these men, who were possessed of great popular eloquence, began now as itinerant preachers to proclaim through the whole land the forgotten evangelical foundation truths, with the convincing power of personal experience and burning indefatigable zeal, simply, and with stirring appeal to the heart. The churches being soon closed to them, they preached in the open air, almost daily, to thousands, and with great success, in spite of much derision and persecution.

But Wesley and Whitefield did not remain isolated witnesses; they were joined by a small number of men, chiefly from the Church of England, who had been led to a living faith, partly independently of them and partly through their influence. These men have not become so well known as the great initiators of the revival, but they have contributed greatly not only to its expansion, but to its purifying.¹ And this movement, of which the Methodist denomination, forced into existence mainly by the opposition of the State church, is only an offshoot,² was not confined to England alone; amid the

¹ Ryle, as quoted. Grimshaw, Romaine, Rowlands, Berridge, Henry Venn (senr.), Truro, Harvey, Toplady, Fletcher.

² Wesley had no intention of quitting the State church and founding a

storms and troubles which marked the history of the world towards the end of the century, this movement propagated itself upon the continent of Europe and in North America, bridging over all national and confessional boundaries, and forming societies in which pulsed the life of primitive love. No doubt this revival, much more than the German Pietist revival, bore a certain impress of the forcing process, and something of its methodist hue it has carried also into other lands; but what distinguished it was its striving after a personal apprehension of salvation, joy in the glad tidings of the Gospel, the warmth of its testimony, the cordiality of its brotherly love, zeal for the practical attestation of faith, and above all the impulse to save others after one had himself been saved.¹

new free church. Repeatedly he declared that if the Methodists—as his followers were named—left the church he would leave them, and as long as he lived his societies remained in at least a loose connection with the State church. But he was at the same time a great organiser; he enrolled his followers as members of societies with orders of classes; and on his death a corporation stood ready, which constituted itself independently as a free church,—a step which the State church helped materially to bring about by its opposition. And as Wesley, so also Whitefield, did not want to found any Dissenting church. But the intolerance of the church registered his chapels as Dissenting meeting-houses, and so occasioned the separation from the State church.

¹ [Dr. Warneck's description of the state of matters in the eighteenth century has special reference to Germany and England, but it may also be taken as applicable generally to Scotland and to America, but modified of course by the different ecclesiastical and social forms conditioning the manifestation of spiritual life or of its absence. Want of space forbids details. In Scotland, however, the defection in religious life was not so great as in England, and the spiritual quickening was relatively more widely spread than in either England or Germany. The Moderatism which reached its height in the Church of Scotland about the middle of the century, was mainly the after-working of the leaven introduced into the church at the Revolution Settlement by the facile inclusion of so many of the former Episcopal incumbents. Opposition to evangelical truth and the suppression of spiritual rights by secular authority brought about the separation and eviction from the church of the foremost representatives of evangelical life, the founders of the Secession and Relief churches, which afterwards (1847) formed the United Presbyterian Church. In these the missionary spirit manifested itself from the first, not indeed in missions to the heathen, but in sending preachers of the Gospel beyond Scotland in response to appeals received, and particularly to the colonies in America. The Secession and Relief were fundamentally spiritual movements, which proved of incalculable value in conserving the spiritual life of Scotland through a dark century, while they also reacted helpfully upon the Evangelical party, which was gradually making headway within the State church. For within that church also there was a marked quickening of spiritual life, to which the visit of Whitefield contributed. In the south it was fostered by the revivals which spread from Cambuslang and Kilsyth through surrounding districts; in the north of Scotland there was an independent movement of a similar character. In a remarkable degree this religious life entered into the homes of the Scottish people and moulded the family life. It had not yet awakened the Christian people to the understanding of the missionary obligation, but the wood was laid on the altar for the fire which descended at the close of the century.—Ed.

In its beginnings this movement was not a missionary movement,¹ but the new spiritual life which it brought forth was the soil in which a new missionary life took root.

¹ [It should be recognised, however, that in the new spiritual life, as in the Pietism of Germany, the missionary spirit was inherent from the first, although it was long before that spirit gave birth to missions to the heathen. This is evident from the expeditions of the founders of Methodism to America, and from the action of the Secession and Relief churches referred to in the previous note. It should also be observed that some of the best known missionary hymns,—“Jesus shall reign where'er the sun,” “O'er those gloomy hills of darkness,” “Behold my servant, see him rise,” and others, date from before the middle of the eighteenth century. Note should be taken, too, of a book published in 1723, by the Rev. Robert Millar of Paisley, entitled *The History of the Propagation of Christianity and Overthrow of Paganism*. It is a learned, comprehensive, and interesting work, containing many sound views as to missionary methods, and earnest exhortations to prayer, liberality, and devotion. But it is without perception as to the missionary character of the church itself, and appeals to “Kings, Princes, and States” to prosecute the missionary enterprise.—ED.]

CHAPTER IV

THE PRESENT AGE OF MISSIONS

49. THE new spiritual revival quickened evangelical Christendom to the understanding of the missionary signal, which God gave in a series of historic events by which He opened the doors of the world. Independently of the religious revival, events happened which drew attention to the non-Christian world, and through the conjunction of these events with the spiritual awakening, which was a clear evidence of the Divine leading, the Holy Ghost recalled the almost forgotten missionary commandment, and, by thus giving to the newly awakened life of faith a missionary direction, brought about the present age of missions.

But very gradually; for the circles in which this spiritual life was concentrated were comparatively small, and chiefly composed of insignificant people, and it is not to be denied that the conventicle character which on that account clung to it, had an unhealthy after-taste which checked its influence. On the other hand, this modest and limited beginning of the present missionary movement gave it a Nativity impress. Like Jesus, modern missions were born as a child that is laid in a manger; and such a birth is always the sign of the works of God. That the missions of the present did not spring from the palaces of kings, or from princely mercantile societies, has gained for them a position of evangelical freedom, independent of the great ones of the earth, which has enabled them to follow apostolic paths. And as their birth resembled the Nativity, so also their growth has been under the cross. Missions in their youth were no darling of public favour. And this is the other sign of the works of God, that they bear His shame with Christ. It was long ere missions won to them the favour of the age, and since that has happened the purity of their task has been threatened. But we must not anticipate the development.

50. Foremost among those Divine openings of doors, which served as a signal for missions, stand the geographical dis-

coveries, beginning with Cook's voyages in the South Sea, which stirred afresh the interest of Europe in lands and peoples beyond the sea. In an appeal to earnest and zealous lovers of the Gospel in all sections of the church for an enterprise to send the Gospel to the heathen, issued in connection with the founding of the London Missionary Society, it is said: "The new discoveries in the knowledge of distant lands have contributed to broaden the desires of Christians as to this matter. Captain Cook and others have explored the globe well-nigh from pole to pole, and have shown us, as it were, a new world, a world of islands in the vast South Sea. . . . Can we not help that a well designed and well conducted mission, if sustained by the earnest prayers of thousands amongst us, shall be accompanied by the blessing of God, and turn to the conversion of many souls?" Believing Christians in England thus saw in the new discoveries "an opportunity shown them by Providence to do something for the poor heathen," and all the more when "they heard that not a few in different places, without knowing anything of one another, had expressed a very ardent longing in this direction."

51. Already the first great missionary herald, whom God chose as standard-bearer of the present missionary movement, the erewhile cobbler and Baptist preacher, William Carey, had been incited to thoughts of missions by tidings about the savages on the islands discovered by Cook; and these incitements, received in his workshop, which by means of a large self-drawn map of the world he made as it were into patent reminders, led him, at a conference of Baptist preachers in 1786, to submit as matter of discussion the subject, "Whether the commandment given to the Apostles to teach all nations in all the world must not be recognised as binding on us also, since the great promise still follows it?" Whereupon the president bade him be silent, declaring, "You are a miserable enthusiast, to propose such a question. Nothing certainly can come to pass in this matter before a new Pentecost accompanied by a new gift of miracles and tongues promises success to the commission of Christ as in the beginning." Thereupon Carey had recourse to the press, and published in 1792 the epochal treatise, "An inquiry into the obligation of Christians to use means for the conversion of the heathen, in which the religious state of the different nations of the world, the success of former undertakings, and the practicability of further undertakings are considered." The forcible arguments and exhortations of this treatise led at last to the founding of the first new missionary society on the 2nd of October 1792, immediately after Carey's world-famed sermon from Isaiah liv. 2 and 3:

“Expect great things from God, and attempt great things for God.”¹ We return to this fact later on.

52. The connection of the founding of the first modern missionary societies—the Baptist in 1792, and the London in 1795—with the general interest in the heathen world across the sea, which was aroused by the geographical discoveries in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, stands beyond question. Since then geographical research has never again slumbered. An era of discoveries followed, which continues to this day, and which has removed the white spaces one after another from the old maps of the world. This eager research has opened the foreign world not only to scientific knowledge, but also to the Gospel of Christ, since the knowledge of the foreigners and interest in them have become for Christians an impulse to bring to them salvation and deliverance. Geography and missions stand in closest connection with one another. Almost always and everywhere—to use the words of Livingstone—“the end of the work of geography has become the beginning of missionary enterprise,” as also conversely, missions have rendered valuable service to geography.

With the age of discovery there was soon combined, and there coincided with it, an age of invention, especially of new means of communication, railways, steamships, and telegraphs, which not only made travelling considerably easier, but reduced remotest distances within a comparatively narrow measure, and so made possible a world-wide intercourse which extended far beyond the intercourse of all earlier times. Commerce, which was rendered much more productive by machine industry, spread over all known and accessible parts of the earth in a manner before undreamt of, and political relations were entered into between the governments of the most distant and hitherto most unacquainted nations, resulting in treaties which were continually flinging over new bridges between them. And that it was the Christian, not the heathen, nations of the earth which made the discoveries and inventions of the new age, and thereby set agoing and placed at their service the modern world-traffic,—by all this God rang out, as with a peal of bells, His summons to Christendom: “I have made a path for you,—now go; it is now the time of missions.”

53. But before the modern world-traffic exercised the influence that operated as a stimulus to missions, there were two other movements which materially contributed to awaken

¹ George Smith, *The Life of William Carey, D.D., Shoemaker and Missionary, Professor of Sanskrit, etc.*, London, 1885, chap. ii.: “The Birth of England’s Foreign Missions.”

and broaden the understanding of missions, namely, the ideas of political freedom which, especially after the North American War of Independence and the French Revolution, circulated through the nations of Europe, and, connected with these, the idea of humanity which proclaimed the common rights of men. Revolutionary as those ideas were, and little based on religion as was the advocacy of common human rights, yet they rendered preparatory service to the missionary movement by bringing about, in connection with Rousseau's ideals of nature, a change in the estimate of non-Christian and uncivilised humanity, and by making it materially easier for Christian circles to assert the right of all men to the Gospel also. The old view of the brutishness of the heathen and of their insusceptibility to conversion yielded to a Christian optimism, which regarded them in all their degradation as brethren capable of being saved and needing to be saved. Into this movement in the cause of freedom and humanity there came, partly as its fruit, the agitation for the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery. No doubt this anti-slavery movement, which began in the eighties of the previous century, was mingled with much political party zeal and liberal faddism, but it was also charged with much genuine philanthropy, and especially in the case of its foremost leader, the noble William Wilberforce, the moving impulses were love for man begotten of Christian faith and a patriotic sense of duty.¹ And besides Wilberforce there were many religious men, on this side of the ocean as on that, who brought the movement into process and kept it in proper process until the abolition of the slave trade, and then—at least in the English colonies—of slavery also, was actually accomplished. By this movement, continuing through several decades, public attention was directed to the negro slaves, and public sympathy with them excited; and so, along with the duty of compassion for them, there was stirred also in wider circles the consciousness of the missionary shortcoming and the missionary obligation

¹ Thus he declared in a speech in Parliament in 1816: "The grand arguments against us are derived from what are called Methodism and fanaticism. What gentlemen mean by the terms I am not very well aware, and I may doubt perhaps if they themselves know; but this I will say—if to be feelingly alive to the sufferings of my fellow-creatures and to be warmed with the desire of relieving their distresses, is to be a fanatic, I am one of the most incurable fanatics ever permitted to be at large. . . . And I will say that eventually we depend for our success upon the very principle by which they endeavour to discredit our cause. I rely upon the religion of the people of this country,—because the people of England are religious and moral. Loving justice and hating iniquity, they consider the oppressed as their brethren whatever be their complexion; and they will feel more especially for the despised race of the blacks, because they find that they are so despised and degraded."—[*Life of William Wilberforce*, vol. iv. pp. 289–291.—ED.]

of the church, to the strengthening of the incipient missionary movement. Not only was Wilberforce in touch with the little missionary circles which then existed, and not only did he bring missionaries forward as witnesses before the official commissions of inquiry; he was himself an active friend of missions, and took a prominent part in the founding of the Church Missionary Society in 1799, as later in that of the British Bible Society in 1804. The anti-slavery movement and evangelical missions were in alliance from the beginning. As the former had helped to bring the missionary movement into process, the latter in turn powerfully influenced the anti-slavery movement, and it is difficult to determine which of the two had the greater gain from the other.¹

54. Finally, there is to be noticed one other significant event, namely, that towards the close of the eighteenth century the national conscience of England was roused with regard to the sins of commission and neglect which the East India Company had heaped upon itself by its scandalous conduct towards the native Indians during well-nigh two centuries. All the princely commercial colonial companies which up to this day have borne rule in possessions beyond the sea, are chargeable with much crime towards the natives, but assuredly none with greater than the powerful East India Company. In this connection it is necessary to cast at least a brief glance upon the history of that Company, which "is one of the vastest and most notable, yet certainly also one of the most melancholy, even revolting, spectacles that the world presents."²

The aim of this princely Company, in whose hands lay not only the monopoly of trade and the administration of the interior, but also the right to wage war and to conclude treaties, was solely its own enrichment. It sought gain, always gain; every idea loftier than a money standard was alien to it. From the view-point of accumulating wealth all its undertakings were directed, and the question as to the righteousness of the means was never considered. "In our own country," writes an Indian official of high standing, in way of excuse, "religion was then at a very low ebb; so that it need not be surprising that the representatives of commercial interests in India, who were far from any influence which still had force at home, showed in their life little of the spirit of Christianity." That is very euphemistically put, in view of the mass of horrors and crimes which character-

¹ Warneck, *Die Stellung der evangelischen Mission zur Sklavenfrage*, Gütersloh, 1889, 12.

² Young, "Mission Work in India, viewed in its relation to the Civil Government," *Ch. Miss. Intellig.*, 1885, 83.

ised the taxation system of the Company, the manner of its wars, and the subjection of Indian princes under its rule. Its two greatest heroes—Clive, who by the battle of Plassey in 1757 laid the foundation for the powerful British Indian Empire, and especially Hastings, who as the first governor (1772–1785) completed the structure by a policy of the basest perfidy—have written their fame with much blood, falsehood, and injustice in the history of that empire. When the knowledge of the scandalous conduct of Hastings spread in England, a cry of indignation and horror rang through the land, demanding the recall and impeachment of the notorious governor. At that time (1784) Burke declared in Parliament “that the right conferred on the Company by its charter, to make war and conclude peace, had been abused by it for sowing discord and spreading dissension in every quarter, in order then to fish in troubled waters: all compacts of peace which it concluded with Indian princes were just so many occasions for faithless breaches of the peace. Countries once the most prosperous had been brought to a condition of indigence and decay and depopulation, to the diminution of our own power and the infinite dishonour of our national character.¹ . . . Many millions of innocent and deserving natives, whom it was the duty of England to shield from violence and injustice, were placed under a despotic and rapacious tyranny.”²

That a Company, against which such accusations were made, did not concern itself at all with the intellectual, moral, and religious well-being of its dependents, is self-evident. It is true that in the charter granted to the Company by William III. in 1698, and also in that renewed by Queen Anne in 1702, it was enacted “that in every garrison and more important factory in the said East Indies there shall be a clergyman, . . . and that he shall take pains to learn the language of the country, so as to be in a position to instruct the heathen, whether servants or slaves of the Company, or those with whom it does business, in the Protestant religion.” But the handful of chaplains who went to India were not as a rule men of the stamp who would have even interested themselves in heathen servants, nor did the Company so desire. Originally it had no religious policy at all; from its absolute indif-

¹ The way in which this happened was through large masses of government troops being placed at the disposal of Indian princes, in order to take vengeance on their enemies. The princes were immediately encouraged to bloodshed amongst themselves if the Company thereby gained money or had the prospect of obtaining the territory, or at least the revenues, of these princes, in case they were not able to pay the stipulated wages to the mercenaries lent to them. This scandalous policy formed a chief count of the indictment against Hastings.

² [*The Speeches of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke*, London, 1876, vol. iii. pp. 38 and 39.—ED.]

ference to religion it had no idea whatever of Christianising; and later it resolutely excluded every endeavour in this direction from its territory. When Carey came to India in 1793, he had to follow a secular business, that he might settle on British territory. But since along with that he did missionary work, he was soon no longer tolerated as an overseer of an indigo plantation, and along with fellow labourers, who had been sent out after him, he was compelled to remove to Danish Serampore. The Company even demanded the expulsion of the missionaries from thence, and it was only to the fearless firmness of the Danish governor that the mission owed its continuance. Nor was the policy of the Company, which was afraid of danger to its money interest from every interference with the religious customs of the natives, satisfied with the hostile warding off of all Christian influence; it positively favoured idolatry. The Company not only rendered all public honour through its official representatives to the institutions of heathen idolatry, but also undertook the supervision of the temples and the administration of temple property; and whilst, on the one hand, it charged itself with the upkeep of temple buildings, and with the maintenance of the priests and priestesses of the temples, on the other hand, chiefly by collecting taxes on pilgrims, it secured for itself and its officials a not inconsiderable revenue. And that was still the case on the most extensive scale in the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In 1783 the first storm arose against the evil doings of the all-powerful Company. At first the only result was a new organisation of the management by enactment of Parliament. Amongst the complaints there were as yet none concerning the neglect of the spiritual and moral well-being of the natives. Nevertheless the question was raised, public opinion was drawn into the conflict, and the conscience of the nation was awakened. The more decidedly the demand was made in Christian circles that the salvation of the Hindoos should be cared for,—and with the sending out of the first missionaries practical expression was quickly given to this demand,—the more hostile was the attitude which the Company took up. Immediately after the Parliamentary debates of 1793, which had issued in measures such as “gradually contributed to the extension of sound knowledge and the elevation of the religious and moral condition of those peoples,” the capitalists of the Company declared: “The sending out of missionaries into our Eastern possessions is the maddest, most extravagant, most costly, most indefensible project which has ever been suggested by a moonstruck fanatic. Such a scheme is per-

icious, imprudent, useless, harmful, dangerous, profitless, fantastic. It strikes against all reason and sound policy; it brings the peace and safety of our possessions into peril." But the more immoderately the Company set itself in opposition to the force of the Christian conscience, the more powerful was the counter-action of conscience; and the more unscrupulously the Company treated the missionaries who were sent out, the more was its own mischievous policy exposed, and the more resolute the conflict became, until in 1813 the ban was broken, and at length by a parliamentary edict missionary work in India was sanctioned, after something at least had already been attempted in behalf of the natives by the sending out of devout Government chaplains, H. Martyn, D. Brown, Cl. Buchanan, and others. Once more the brave Wilberforce, in the power of his fiery and convincing eloquence, was the principal leader in this struggle. Buchanan, who while in India had done preparatory work by his two writings, *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment in British India* and *Christian Researches in the East*, came to England and interested the great English public in the Indian question by his powerful sermons, one of which, with the title *The Star in the East*, was circulated in thousands of copies. The little band of friends of missions by their indefatigable zeal brought 850 petitions out of all parts of the land before Parliament, a number such as had never yet been laid upon the table of the House. And under these struggles against the egoist policy of the East India Company, which stirred the whole English people, and which led in 1833 and in 1853 to ever fuller victories, until after the great Mutiny in 1859, its rule was completely set aside,—just under these very struggles did there grow up among the Christians of England the sense of their guilty neglect of the heathen who were subject to their rule; while the consciousness of the national duty of removing that reproach by energetic missionary activity became ever more vivid; and with the growing discharge of this duty on the part of Britain the missionary conscience was increasingly awakened also in the other lands of evangelical Christendom.

55. And now it befel the newly awakened missionary life in England at the close of the eighteenth century as had been the case in Germany at the beginning of the same: the official representatives of the church set themselves as a body in antagonism to it. Even amongst the Baptists, to whom belongs the merit of having been the first to call a missionary society into existence and of having sent the first English missionary to India, the majority of the church officials declined to take an active part in missions. "This activity in the

cause of our great Redeemer," writes Haweis, a minister of the State church and principal founder of the London Missionary Society, who was chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon, "is here at home called Methodism, an indefinite expression which indicates in general a more than wonted diligence in the work of the Lord, very much as in Germany the same spirit is called Pietism or Herrnhutianism."

That indicates the main reason of the aversion of the official churches to the nascent missionary enterprise, an aversion which often went the length of hostility. The old theological considerations, which had become untenable, no longer played a part. Only here and there was the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination or the necessity of gifts of miracles and tongues adduced as determining the carrying out of the missionary mandate. It was now much rather the rationalism dominating the government of the church and theology which combated the newly awakened life of faith as a retrograde and obscurantist tendency, and combated as arrogant fanaticism the missions instigated and animated by this tendency, which it hated. The objection that there is enough to do at home, and that those of our own household must be cared for before thinking of the heathen, emerged later. Almost all the attacks made upon missions in their youth amounted to this, that they were as extravagant as they were foolish and hopeless undertakings.

56. In this exigency, when the official church, having taken up an attitude to missions partly of indifference and partly of hostility, declined the service, no other course was open than to appoint representatives independent of the church organisation to whose hands the work of missions might be committed. And thus of dire necessity there was born within the Protestant world that free association which was thenceforth to play in its history a rôle of eminent importance. That this forced birth did not happen without the leading of Providence is to-day readily acknowledged even by the official church itself, it having long ago exchanged its attitude of opposition to missions into that of friendship. For with the free association founded on the Christian principle of Voluntarism, specially in connection with the enlisting for service of the energies of the believing laity, there came into operation in the Evangelical church not only a form but a power of life which, both as regards the work of salvation at home and the extension of Christianity among the heathen, has done a work which the official church could not have done by its official representatives.¹

¹ On the superiority of the missionary work of the free societies to that of the official church, see Warneck, *Evangel. Missionslehre*, ii. 37.

The free alliance of believers in missionary societies has become an inestimable blessing to the church itself; it began in the church the removal of a social defect which was very materially to blame for the fact that, until the end of the previous century, there had been inside of Protestantism so little of combined action. These societies, which became more and more naturalised outlets for the activities of love in the church at home, supplied to Protestantism an evangelical substitute for the corporations which the church of Rome possesses in its Orders. They had their starting-point already in the *ecclesiola in ecclesia* of Pietism. It was a sign of the soundness of the present constitution of missions, that single individuals, who had been persuaded of their Divine call to missionary service, did not go to the heathen as independent individuals, an error which in recent times has taken the place of a regular sending in the case of the so-called free missionaries, of whom we shall come to speak later; but that the beginning was made with the founding at home of missionary institutions in the form of free societies. Only by such regular missionary institutions—not to speak of other advantages—was it possible that missions could strike those deep roots at home without which they would have had no secure and lasting support.

57. From the declinature of service by the official church there arose a second emergency: theologians were lacking. What kept pastors and probationers from becoming missionaries was hardly any longer the dogmatic objection that no summons to mission work among the heathen now exists, or it was so only in a faint degree; the inward call and the spiritual qualification were wanting. In face of this lack, men bethought them of what Jesus did when the priests and scribes of His time declined His service. Recourse was had to laymen, and this recourse, imposed by necessity, came to be of great importance for the future, for through it powers for service in the kingdom of God at home and abroad were set free which have become the source of greatest blessing to the church. These “unlearned people and laymen” have had indeed for a long time to endure very disdainful treatment, but their courageous faith and their self-sacrifice have put the theologians to shame, and the ability of many of them has given proof that the blessing of success is not bound up with a regular call of the church and a university education. Pietism and Methodism broke through the old rigid dogma of “a call,” by giving practical effect to the good evangelical doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, namely, that every living Christian possesses function and gift to be a

worker for God, and that the call of God to the work of His kingdom is not bound by ordinances of men. On the basis of this intuition of the theology of the revival the church of the Brethren had already called to missionary service several laymen, of whose inward qualification and Divine calling they were certified by prayer; and the missionary societies, founded after the end of the eighteenth century, followed that example everywhere where no theologians were to be found. Certainly the appointment of "unlearned persons and laymen" to service has its darker aspects; many weak even incapable subjects have become missionaries, but even the university curriculum offers no absolute guarantee against uselessness in missionary service, as *e.g.* the majority of the Dutch and English colonial clergy proves. At first not much pains was bestowed on the training of laymen for the service of missions, personal conversion, and of course a certain measure of Bible knowledge, being regarded as the materially sufficient preparation. More and more, however, except in the case of some missionary organisations with a specially chiliastic aim, a comparatively thorough seminary training has been almost everywhere introduced. Most missionary societies established missionary schools, in which the plan of instruction is gradually becoming more and more scientific. Only in America, some English Dissenting communities, and the Scottish churches, did the theological seminaries supply the most of the missionaries.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF THE FOUNDATION AND GROWTH OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

58. WITH the exception of the Established Church of Scotland, in no Protestant State church have missions been from their beginning the concern of the church. In Sweden a State church mission was founded twenty-five years ago, alongside of the free missions, but it has not absorbed these. Only in a number of free churches, especially in America, are missions the affair of the church as such, conducted for the most part by a committee or board, which is responsible to the Synod. Thus since the end of the eighteenth century the development of missionary life at home has been really accomplished in the history of the foundation and growth of missionary societies. Of this let us now attempt to give a survey. We must, however, confine ourselves to the principal societies. For in the course of the nineteenth century the number of Protestant missionary societies has so largely increased, that it is scarcely possible to specify them all with absolute certainty, especially as almost every year new ones are added. Limiting the number only to those which send out missionaries independently, it reaches (with inclusion of those in the colonies) in round numbers about 150, of which scarcely 60 support more than 20 missionaries.¹ Gladdening as, on the one hand, is the great number of this missionary host, and much as they have done to kindle an ever stronger missionary fire in all sections of the Protestant church, on the other hand, it signifies an amount of division which works alike to confusion and weakness. It is a fatal watchword which since a short time ago has been given forth, especially in America, by rhetorical enthusiasts, "Not

¹ The handbook of foreign missions already referred to gives general surveys of those societies. Bliss, *The Encyclopædia of Missions*, 2 vols., New York, 1891. Gundert, *Die Evangelische Missions*, Calw. 1894, 3rd ed. Vahl, *Missions to the Heathen: a Statistical Review*, Copenhagen. It has appeared annually from 1892. This review, however, takes notice also of all non-independent auxiliary societies. Dennis, "Statistical Summary of Foreign Missions throughout the World," in *Ecumenical Missionary Conference*, New York, 1900, vol. ii. p. 424.

concentration but diffusion," for it leads to a kind of franc-tireur mission work, which dissolves organisation, divides the forces into atoms, and complicates the enterprise. Certainly there is to-day still much pioneer work to be done in new mission fields, but it is just this pioneer work which needs disciplined troops, and in the older mission fields we have already entered on the stage in which the great battles are fought. Not dispersion but concentration and organisation is for to-day a sound missionary watchword; not ever new little missionary societies, which experiment with novices, but accessions to the larger, experienced, well-ordered missionary societies is what we need. Towards this multiplication of missionary organisations manifold causes have contributed, besides the strengthening of the sense of missionary duty,—confessional peculiarities, denominational loyalty, new theological tendencies and ecclesiastical formations, differences as to missionary methods, personal eagerness to found missions, occurrences in colonial politics, etc.

To make the survey of this vast home apparatus for missionary work as clear as possible, let us arrange it chronologically according to countries, and begin with the country from which the missions of the nineteenth century took their rise, and in which they are most energetically maintained, principally because it has the largest colonial possessions.

SECTION 1.—ENGLAND.

59. On the 2nd October 1792, at the call of Wm. Carey, twelve Baptist preachers joined at Kettering in Northamptonshire to found The Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen (B. M. S.). Already since 1764 the first missionary prayer meetings had been held in a little circle of devout Baptists under the guidance of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, afterwards the intimate friend of Carey. The impulse to these was given through the reading of a little tract by Jonathan Edwards, published in 1747: *An humble attempt to promote an explicit agreement and visible union of God's people for the revival of religion, and the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the earth*. Then followed Carey's *Inquiry*, already noticed, and the decision was reached in his world-famed sermon on Isaiah liv. 2 and 3. Carey offered himself as the first missionary. His original intention to go to Tahiti, to which he was moved by the narratives of Cook's voyages, was changed through a ship surgeon, Thomas, who had returned from India, where of his own motive he had done occasional mission work, with the result that India was chosen

as the first field for the labours of the young society. The intolerance of the East India Company, however, compelled the beginning of mission work in the Danish province of Serampore, and it was not till after more than ten years that the work was first permitted in British territory. Men such as Ward, Marshman, and Yates followed. As early as 1809 there appeared the complete Bengali translation of the Bible, done by Carey, who had a gift of languages, the first of his extensive literary—mainly linguistic—works, which admittedly do not all merit the excessive praise which was formerly lavished upon them. (According to Smith, 238, Carey translated the Bible, or parts of the Bible, into thirty-four languages.) To Hindostan, where in time the field of the Baptists extended to the north, west, and south, were added Ceylon in 1811, in 1813 Jamaica and other West Indian Islands, in 1840 West Africa (Fernando Po, the Cameroons, Congo), and China in 1859. In India, besides Carey, the German Wenger in particular won celebrity by his linguistic labours; in Jamaica, Burchell and Knibb were specially conspicuous as champions of slave-emancipation; in the Cameroons, Saker and Grenfell; Comber and Bentley on the Congo did eminent service. The income of the society now reaches in round figures¹ £75,000 (\$360,000), but hardly suffices to cover its growing needs. The number of missionaries² is 160; that of native pastors, 70; that of communicants, *i.e.* of actual church members³ admitted to the Lord's Supper (including the West Indies, where the principal field, Jamaica, alone includes 40,000), 55,000. The organ of the society is the *Missionary Herald of the Baptist M.S.*⁴

60. Far more deeply than the founding of the Baptist M. S. did that of the London Missionary Society (L. M. S.) stir Christian circles at home. Enthusiasm had been kindled amongst clergymen and laymen in the Episcopal church and in Dissenting communities by a series of truly edifying letters to "Lovers of the Gospel," which Dr. Bogue opened with a

¹ I give the statistical statement in round figures, as they are annually changing. In the present connection they must serve to furnish only an approximate standard for the position of the societies to-day.

² Only male missionaries are reckoned throughout.

³ In the English and American statistics only the number of communicants—separate church members entitled to partake of the Lord's Supper—is generally given. The number of Christians is about three to three and a half times as great, often greater.

⁴ Cox, *History of the B. M. S.*, London, 1842. Underhill, *Christian Missions in the East and West in connection with the Bapt. M. S.*, London, 1862. Myers, *Centenary of the B. M. S.*, London, 1892. The General Baptists united with the B. M. S. in 1891; the missions (instituted 1861) of the so-called Strict Baptists are unimportant. That the B. M. S., like all the larger English and American missionary societies, has an active auxiliary in a ladies' association may here at once be noted.

paper in the *Evangelical Magazine* of August 1794; and a powerful appeal had already been made to the conscience of the clergy through Horne's *Letters on Missions*. On 21st September 1795 the first preliminary meeting was held, at which it was affirmed "that an earnest unity of spirit with the aim of undertaking work for the benefit of the heathen had prevailed not only in the present assembly, but amongst devout Christians throughout the whole island." Thereupon the institution of a society was unanimously resolved upon, "in order to send missionaries to heathen and unenlightened countries." "An affecting feeling of gladness took possession of the hearts of many when this weighty resolution was taken. As soon as emotion permitted of speech, Dr. Eyre read the outline of a scheme which on the following day was to be submitted to the whole assembly." On the three following days six solemn services were held in different London churches, at which sermons were preached to large audiences with demonstration of the Spirit and with power. The characteristic feature of the founding of this society, which was called simply "The Missionary Society," was the association of ministers and laymen from the Independents, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Episcopalians. "The petty differences of names and forms among us," said Dr. Haweis in his powerful sermon on Mark xvi. 15 ff., "and the differences of church government, must be swallowed up to-day in the greater, nobler, more significant name Christians, and our only endeavour shall be, not to further the views of any one particular sect, since Christ is not divided, but with united effort to make known afar the majesty of His Person, the completeness of His work, the wonders of His grace, and the exceeding blessings of His redemption," a declaration which was then expressly embodied in the rules. As the primary mission field, under the influence of the narratives of Cook, the South Sea was decided upon. From the large number of those who offered themselves for missionary service, 29 men were chosen, amongst them 4 ordained clergymen, 1 surgeon, and the rest artisans. A special missionary ship—the *Duff*—was bought for £5000 (\$24,000), and as early as the 10th of August 1796 it sailed under the command of good Captain Wilson, followed by the prayers of thousands, and on the 4th of March 1798 it cast anchor off Tahiti. After initial unsuccess and many painful experiences, this South Sea Mission found its way, especially under the leadership of John Williams,¹ with augmenting triumph from group to group of islands, and now numbers on seven of these about 22,000 com-

¹ Prout, *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. J. Williams*, London, 1843.

municants (80,000 adherents). In 1798, South Africa was occupied, where the missionaries van der Kemp, Philips, Moffat,¹ and Livingstone² have been specially prominent; in 1804, India, where Lacroix, Mullens, and Sherring were conspicuous; in 1807, China, where Morrison, Milne, Medhurst, Legge did pioneer work in the language. The most important field of the society's work, however, was Madagascar, occupied in 1820, where the London M. S. before the outbreak of the French war numbered 62,800 communicants, a number which has since been greatly reduced, partly by the coercion practised in connection with the Roman Catholic counter-mission, and partly by the transfer of many congregations to the Paris M. S. On the other hand, the Tanganyika Mission, begun in 1879, has proved an almost entire failure, notwithstanding great sacrifice of money and life,³ while the New Guinea Mission, undertaken in 1871, under the capable direction of Murray, Macfarlane, and Chalmers, has developed very hopefully. Unhappily the income of the society does not keep pace with its growing expenditure; it amounts to about £137,500 (\$660,000). In its service there are about 200 missionaries; the total number of communicants cannot be given with certainty, owing to the imperfect statistics of the society. The last report mentions only 50,730 (171,000 adherents),⁴ but the details are, as usual, very imperfect. It seems as if not only does the management of its mission work leave something to be desired, but the missionary zeal of the Independent congregations in England is somewhat flagging. Organ: *The Chronicle of the London M. Soc.*⁵

61. The interdenominational character of the society was not of long duration. As time went on the Independent element gradually preponderated, and for a long time now the London Missionary Society has been exclusively⁶ Independent. The Episcopalians were the first to branch off from it. The more deeply the new spiritual life struck its roots amongst them also, the stronger did the desire for a Church Mission of their own become. The idea of founding a Church Missionary Society ripened in two small circles of believing pastors and laymen, which soon came together into one,—the Eclectic

¹ Moffat, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa*, London, 1842.

² Blaikie, *Personal Life of David Livingstone*, London, 1880.

³ [Quite recently, however, it has taken a fresh and hopeful start.—ED.]

⁴ Almost every statistical table shows "no returns"; in spite of this the defective numbers are added, and the tyro believes that he has before him the real totals.

⁵ Horne, *The Story of the London M.S., 1795-1895*, London, 1894. Cousins, *The Story of the South Seas*, London, 1894. Lovett, *The History of the L.M.S., 1795-1895*, London, 1899, 2 vols.

⁶ [Substantially, but not exclusively. Other denominations also contribute and are represented on the directorate.—ED.]

Society and the so nick-named Clapham Sect; John Venn, John Morton, and Charles Simeon being the leaders in the first, and William Wilberforce in the second. The establishment of a penal colony in South Australia, the founding of the philanthropic Sierra Leone Company, and the struggles against the maladministration of the East Indian Company, directed the view of these circles to the heathen; and since their views of State church doctrine and constitution did not permit their accession to the Baptist or Independent societies, there came together, on 12th April 1797, 26 men who founded the "Society for Missions to Africa and the East," a designation which, in order to make yet more obvious its connection with the Episcopal State church, was altered in 1812 to that which it presently bears, "The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East" (C. M. S.), though in making this alteration it was explicitly declared that friendly relations with other Protestant missionary societies were to be maintained,—a statutory provision which is to this day also observed in practice. In its beginnings the society had to struggle with extraordinary difficulties. Apart from the general disfavour under which it had to suffer, missionaries were wanting. Out of this misfortune they were helped by having missionaries provided from two German mission seminaries; that of Jänicke in Berlin, and later Basle, to the number, as time went on, of 120 in all, among whom were men of repute like Rhenius, Weitbrecht, Leupold, Pfander, Kölle, Johnsen, Hinderer, Schön, Kölle, Gobat, Krapf, Rebmann. But what was much worse was that the Anglican Episcopate refused co-operation. Only in 1815 did two bishops join the society, and in 1840 the two had become only nine. Then the society laid great weight upon being a Church Society, and since the constitution of the church reserved to bishops the right of calling and ordination, and their jurisdiction extended over the church workers in all fields, embarrassments arose, which became the greater as in course of time the number of colonial bishoprics was multiplied. Nearly half a century passed, until at length (1841) the wisdom of the gifted secretary, Henry Venn,¹ succeeded in establishing a satisfactory *modus vivendi* with the Episcopate, carrying recognition of the society as a free church organisation and the maintenance of its evangelical principles. The latter especially was of the greatest importance for the conflict which the society had to wage against the Tractarian or Ritualistic movement, which emanated from Oxford in the thirties, under the leadership of Pusey, Newman, Manning, etc., and assumed ever larger proportions. This movement took a very serious

¹ Knight, *The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn*, London, 1880.

Romanising direction, which embarrassed the bishop question in many ways. In this conflict the C. M. S., which was a product of the evangelical revival, became, with its adherents, more and more the backbone of the Evangelical party, and in the measure in which this party broadened and deepened the C. M. S. grew in esteem and power. New revival movements, the Evangelistic movement following the visit of Moody in England, the Mildmay and Keswick Conferences, and later the Student Missionary movement emanating from Cambridge, and strengthened from America,—these, in connection with the new colonial political era, which was energetically utilised for the expansion of missions, have procured to the C. M. S. within the latest decades a simply magnificent advance.

Since 1841 the number of bishops who have identified themselves with this society has steadily increased, although since then conflicts also have not been wanting. To-day the four archbishops and almost all the bishops, home and colonial,¹ belong to it, of whom several, however, seem to figure only as ornaments. With all the value which the society sets upon episcopal polity, it yet represents down to the present time the evangelical tendency in Anglicanism, and on the basis of its evangelical catholicity it maintains a position of brotherly kindness and courtesy towards other missionary societies, in which respect it shows to great advantage as distinguished from the High Church Propagation Society. In 1815 a Missionary Seminary was called into existence in Islington, London, from which, until to-day, upwards of 500 missionaries have gone forth. During the last half century an ever-increasing number of clergymen and probationers have put themselves at the disposal of the society, so that for some decades it has worked almost preponderatingly with missionaries of university training. The methods of the society are sound, its organisation is practical, its administration is wise. Gradually its fields of labour have extended over the four continents. In 1804, West Africa was occupied, where its missions have stretched from Sierra Leone to Yorubaland and the Niger (Hinderer, Townsend, Bishop Crowther). East Africa had been first taken possession of through Krapf in 1844, but it was only in 1874, in connection with the suppression of the slave trade and the explorations of Stanley, that the mission entered on an important development on the coast (Freretown) and in the interior (Uganda). Alexander Mackay was the chief pioneer in Uganda.²

¹ At present the Church of England has 92 colonial and missionary bishops. *Intelligencer*, 1897, 481, "The Colonial and Missionary Episcopate." Of the missionaries of the C. M. S., 37 have become bishops.

² *A. Mackay of Uganda*, by his Sister, London, 1890.

A mission was begun in Mauritius in 1856; in Egypt in 1882. In India, where the society has its largest field of work, extending almost through the whole great empire, missions were established in 1813 (Fenn, Noble,¹ Fox, Baker, Sargent, French,² Rob. Clark³), in Ceylon in 1818, in China (Wolfe) in 1845, in Japan (Bickersteth) in 1869, in Persia (Bruce) in 1875, in Palestine as early as 1857. New Zealand (Marsden) was entered in 1814, and British North America (Horden⁴) in 1823. The statistical returns of this greatest of evangelical missionary societies show to-day over 270,000 baptized and catechumens, amongst them 71,500 communicants. Its scholars number in all 104,000; 408 ordained and 102 lay missionaries are in its service, besides 326 unmarried women and 365 ordained native pastors. Its total income, which in 1805 stood at £1182 (\$5674); in 1855, at £114,343 (\$548,846), now exceeds £300,000 (\$1,440,000). Organs: *Church Miss. Intelligencer*; *C. M. Gleaner*, and its voluminous Annual Report.⁵

62. At the opening of the nineteenth century, and especially since the Tractarian movement, the old "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" (S. P. G.) began to revive, and step by step undertook an ever-widening missionary work among the heathen, with which, however, it continued to combine a pastoral care for the British colonists; and in its reports the former is often hardly distinguished from the latter. More and more decidedly has this society become the representative of the principles of the High Church or Ritualistic tendency in the Church of England, and it is even setting up the claim to be the only representative of the missions of the church; the chief direction of its affairs lies in the hands of its bishops. Hence it pursues with great zeal the erection of new bishoprics, in which it sees almost the universal medium of missionary work, and by virtue of which it deems itself warranted, as the representative of "The Church," "to build on foreign ground everywhere." By doing so it has caused much confusion, and it stands on friendly footing with really not a single Protestant missionary society, but has more than once played into the hands of Rome. The advance of its income from £2500 (\$12,000) in 1791, to

¹ J. Noble, *A Memoir of the Rev. Robert Noble*, London, 1868.

² Birks, *The Life and Correspondence of Thos. V. French*, London, 1895.

³ *C. M. Intelligencer*. 1900, 513.

⁴ Batty, *Forty-two Years amongst the Indians and Eskimo. Pictures from the Life of F. Horden*, London, 1893.

⁵ Stock, *The History of the C. M. S.: Its Environment, its Men, and its Work*, London, 1899. A standard work which takes the foremost place in historical missionary literature. A good informing survey of all the mission fields of the society is added to the text of the *C. M. Atlas*, 8th ed., 1896.

£6400 (\$30,720) in 1801, and to £12,858 (\$61,718) in 1821, shows that the society has developed a progressive activity. After the establishment of a bishopric in Calcutta and a kind of Episcopal Missionary Seminary, which, however, notwithstanding the zeal of the second bishop, Heber,¹ did not continue, the S. P. G. sent its first missionaries to India, where Caldwell was specially eminent amongst its labourers; it then gradually occupied not only all those fields in which English colonial bishoprics have been established (particularly North America, the West Indies, Guinea, South and West Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Burma), but it installed missionary bishops also in Borneo, China, Japan, and intruded them even on Hawaii and Madagascar. No reliable statistics can be given of this work, partly because the yearly reports contain only aphoristic statements, and partly because in the returns the colonial work is not separated from missionary work proper. The total number of its ordained English labourers (including 12 bishops) is 613, of whom, however, only about 300 are missionaries to the heathen. There are 172 ordained native pastors; the number of native Christian communicants is about 42,000, and the entire income of the society runs to more than £125,000 (\$600,000)., Organ: *The Mission Field*.²

63. In more or less close connection with the S. P. G. there stand or stood a number of small High church, and in part Romanising, societies and unions, besides a ladies' association and various brotherhoods and sisterhoods: the Cambridge Mission to Delhi (1877), and the Oxford Mission to Calcutta (1881), now constituted as an Oxford Brotherhood of the Epiphany. On the other hand, three larger, likewise High Church ritualistic missionary societies have been formed independently of it: (1) The Melanesian Mission, founded in 1840 by Bishop Selwyn, which has become fairly well known through Patteson,³ the martyr and bishop; (2) the Universities Mission to Central Africa (U. M. C. A.),⁴ called into life at the instigation of Livingstone in 1859, which labours in German and English East Africa on extreme Romanising lines. It has had able leaders in its bishops, Steere and Smythies, and in Maples,⁵ who had scarcely been appointed bishop when he was drowned, an eminent missionary. The Melanesian Mission has

¹ G. Smith, *Bishop Heber*, London, 1895.

² *Classified Digest of the Records of the S. P. G.*, 1701-1892, 5th ed., London, 1896. *The Spiritual Expansion of the Empire*, London, 1900.

³ Yonge, *Life of John Patteson, Miss. Bishop of the Melanesian Islands*, London, 1874.

⁴ Anderson-Morsehead, *The Hist. of the Univ. Mission to Central Africa*, London, 1897.

⁵ Ch. Maples, *Pioneer Missionary in East Africa for Nineteen Years*, by his Sister, London, 1897.

its headquarters in Norfolk, from which it conducts operations on Solomon, Florida, Santa Cruz, and several islands of the New Hebrides, principally by means of native teachers trained at Norfolk, who by the use of a missionary vessel are visited by English missionaries. The mission numbers some 12 missionaries and 11 ordained natives, with 170 stations and 12,000 Christians; and it has an annual income of £7500 (\$36,000).¹ The Universities Mission numbers 22 "priests," 24 lay missionaries, and 38 ladies, a large staff, which is, however, continually changing; it has 1900 communicants, 7500 Christians, and 3500 scholars. Its income is £35,000 (\$125,000). Organ: *Central Africa*.

Finally, there must here be noticed yet a third independent mission belonging to the Church of England, the South American M. S. (S. A. M.), founded in 1851, which is the continuation of the Patagonian Mission begun by the well-known Allen Gardiner, and so tragically ended. It has its centre and Episcopal See on the island of Keppel and two stations in Tierra del Fuego, and is working besides amongst the Indians in Gran Chaco, in Paraguay, in Southern Chili (Araucanians), and amongst the English settlers on the East and West coasts of South America. Besides 10 missionaries, there are in its service 12 clergymen for the settlers. The statistical result of exceedingly arduous work is 250 Christians in Tierra del Fuego. It has a yearly income of £17,500 (\$84,000). Organ: *The South American Magazine*.

64. Amongst the Methodists the missionary spirit exhibited itself in vital energy from the beginning. As early as 1744, at the prompting of Whitefield, special hours of prayer were observed "for the outpouring of the Divine Spirit upon all Christian churches and over the whole inhabited earth," and from 1779 quite a number of preachers from the ranks of ministers and laymen had gone to North America, whose missionary efforts among the heathen reached as far as the northern boundaries of the British possessions. The Methodists, however, developed a much more important mission work in the British West Indies, to which, in 1786, Thomas Coke, the goal of whose voyage was really Nova Scotia, was providentially driven. That earnest man, in whose hands the business of their missions virtually lay, and at whose instigation a beginning of missionary work had been already (1811) made in West Africa, after having crossed the Atlantic eighteen times, died in 1814 on a voyage to Ceylon, where, although 76 years of age, he wished to found the third Methodist mission. Only after his death did the necessity arise for the formation of a

¹ Armstrong, *The History of the Melanesian Mission*, London, 1900.

special missionary society, the Wesleyan M. S. (W. M. S.), which bears throughout the impress of the Methodist organisation that forms so much of the strength of this denomination. Soon after the society gained a firm footing in Ceylon (1814), it began, side by side with the London Missionary Society (Schmelen), its work in South Africa (B. Shaw) in 1815, in 1817 on the mainland of India, in 1822 in the South Sea, Australia, New Zealand, the islands of Tonga and Witi, where John Hunt and John Calvert were specially eminent, and in 1851 in China, at the same time continuing to extend its two oldest mission fields, the West Indies and West Africa. The three most important of these mission fields, on which missionary work proper has already in part reached its goal, are no longer under the London management of the Wesleyan M. S. The South Sea, Witi, Samoa, the Bismarck Archipelago and British New Guinea, with in all 40,600 communicants, were placed under the Australian Conference in 1854; the Kaffir and Bechuana mission (with the exception of the Transvaal, Swaziland, and Mashonaland), with in all over 30,000 communicants, under the South African in 1882; and the West Indies (excepting Honduras and the Bahama islands), with 50,000 communicants, under the West Indian in 1884; so that to the mother society in London there still remain only Ceylon, India, China, West Africa, and some Oceanic, South African, and West Indian supplements, with in all 40,000 native Christian communicants. The total number of missionaries in these fields now reaches 125, and its income almost £125,000 (\$600,000). Unhappily, with all their great zeal, Methodist missions are frequently lacking in sobriety and in thoroughness in their work, and often also they disturb the peace by unbrotherly intrusion into the fields of other societies. Organ: *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*.¹

Let us here just mention in order the rest of the more important Methodist missionary societies. The Methodist New Connexion Missionary Society, founded in 1824, devoted itself at first only to evangelistic work in Ireland and Canada, until it entered upon missionary work proper in China in 1859. It maintains 9 missionaries there, has 2640 communicants, and an average income of £9500. Organ: *Gleanings in Harvest Fields*. The United Methodist Free Churches Home and Foreign Miss. Soc., originated in 1837, besides working amongst the English population of Australia and New Zealand, labours in China, East and West Africa, and Jamaica, with 32 missionaries, has 12,000 communicants, and collects yearly for all its work about £14,000 (\$67,200). Amongst its pioneer

¹ Moister, *A History of Wesl. Missions*, London, 1871, 3rd ed.

missionaries in East Africa, New and Wakefield are well-known names. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists Foreign Miss. Soc., founded in 1840, conducts with 17 missionaries a mission amongst the Khasi in India which has been greatly blessed, and has about 4300 communicants. Its annual income reaches over £10,000 (\$48,000).¹ Lastly, the Primitive Methodist Miss. Soc., which was founded, indeed, in 1843, but first extended its work to the heathen in 1869, carries on a missionary work of no great importance in Fernando Po, in Cape Colony, and amongst the Muschukulums, north of the Zambesi. The Sierra Leone M. S., of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, in existence since 1792, does not seem any longer to do mission work among the heathen.

65. We may most conveniently insert here also the Quaker missions: the Friends' Foreign Miss. Association (1865) and the Friends' Syrian Mission (1867). Private missionary work had long been carried on on the part of single members of Quaker congregations; but it was at the initiative of Ellis, the well-known missionary of the London M. S., who enlisted the co-operation of the Friends in Madagascar, that their missionary energy came to be organised. That island has continued to be the principal field of the Quaker Mission, whilst it has also accomplished a less important work in India, Ceylon, China, and Syria. There are 30 missionaries in the service of this mission, and 3150 communicants (14,000 native Christians) under its care. The entire income of all the Quaker missions amounts to about £20,000 (\$96,000). In 1840 the Irish Presbyterian Church, and in 1847 the Presbyterian Church of England, founded special Presbyterian missions. The former labours with 28 ordained missionaries in India (Gujerat and Kathiawar), and in alliance with the Scottish United Free Church in Manchuria; the latter in China with 30 missionaries, of whom the first to be sent out, W. C. Burns, has become the best known. Both together have over 9000 communicants, and an income of about £40,000 (\$192,000). Organs: *Miss. Herald of the Presb. Ch. of Ireland* and *Messenger and Miss. Rec. of the Presb. Ch. in England*.

66. Much more important are the Scottish Presbyterian missions. As early as 1796 there were called into life the

¹ [It is hardly correct, however, to locate this church amongst the Methodist group. Its name indicates the connection of its origin with the Methodist revival, but it is now known also as the Presbyterian Church of Wales to emphasise its Presbyterian constitution, and membership in the General Presbyterian Alliance. Its field of operations is in the Kasia and Lushai hills between N.E. Bengal and Assam and the adjoining plains. The Report of 1900 tells also of 11 native ordained ministers, but every one of these is stationed alongside of a European missionary.—Ed.]

Glasgow M. S. and the Scottish M. S., both supported by Christians of all church denominations. In that same year the celebrated debate took place in the General Assembly of the State church of Scotland, in which, on the overtures of two Synods to send the Gospel to the heathen, Mr. Hamilton, seconded by Dr. Carlyle, contended that "to spread abroad the knowledge of the Gospel amongst barbarous and heathen nations seems to be highly preposterous, in so far as philosophy and learning must in the nature of things take the precedence, and that while there remains at home a single individual without the means of religious knowledge, to propagate it abroad would be improper and absurd." The proposal to appoint a collection for missions "would no doubt be a legal subject of penal prosecution." Whereupon the venerable Dr. Erskine rose, and, prefacing his reply with the call to the Moderator, "Rax me that Bible," then read aloud the words of Matthew xxviii. 18, 20, which burst on the assembly like a clap of thunder.¹

Both those societies sent missionaries from time to time to Sierra Leone, where Peter Greig was murdered by the Fuhlas, to Cape Colony, Kaffraria, India, and Jamaica, but their labours passed away in part without result.² When, however, Dr. Inglis brought the cause of missions before the General Assembly in 1824, and carried through the undertaking of a State Church Mission, in the first instance to India, new life came into the cause. In 1829, Dr. Alex. Duff went to India as the first missionary of the Scottish Church, and it fell to that eminent man not only to break open new paths for missions in India, but also to awaken an undreamt of enthusiasm for missions in his native land. The history of missionary life in Scotland is indissolubly linked with his name.³ In the measure in which missionary zeal now grew in the Scottish Church, both the old societies declined. The Scottish M. S. soon gave its three missionaries in India to the State Church, the Glasgow M. S. could scarcely support itself, even when limited to South Africa, especially as in 1835 the Secession Church (afterwards United Presbyterian Church) began a mission of its own to Jamaica, and then a division took place which led to the founding of the Glasgow African Society, which, however, in 1847 joined itself to the United Presbyterians. The Scottish State Church Mission, which had in its service distinguished men (besides Duff, *e.g.* Mitchell, Nesbit, and Wilson⁴),

¹ Graham, as cited, p. 91.

² [There were abiding and valuable results, however, both in South Africa and in Jamaica.—ED.]

³ G. Smith, *The Life of Alex. Duff*, London, 1879, 2 vols.

⁴ G. Smith, *The Life of John Wilson ; for Fifty Years Philanthropist and Scholar in the East*, London, 1878.

applied itself in India (Calcutta, Madras, Bombay) especially to the work of higher education; in South Africa it had five stations among the Kaffirs, amongst these Lovedale, which has since become so celebrated, where as early as 1841 a Missionary Seminary for natives was established.

67. Then in 1843 came the Disruption, which led to the formation of the Free Church of Scotland, and, far from crippling missionary energy in Scotland, speedily multiplied it more than tenfold. All the missionaries of the State Church in India and Kaffraria went over to the Free Church. The great financial pressure which was imposed upon the young Free Church by the loss of all mission property, and by the care of the missionaries who were left without means of support, was soon surmounted by an amazing liberality, which Dr. Duff, recalled home for the organising of the work, knew how to stimulate.¹ Thus there were now in Scotland two church

¹ In No. 1 of the *Free Church Monthly and Missionary Record* (1882) there is reprinted an intensely fascinating extract from Thomas Brown's *Annals of the Disruption* (III.) on "The Missionaries of 1843," of which I give the substance, as characteristic alike of the Scottish missionaries of that time, and of the strong spirit of self-sacrifice which was associated with the formation of the Free Church. The Scottish Church in the beginning of 1843 had about 20 missionaries, many of them eminent, amongst the Jews and heathen, and much anxiety was felt in circles at home as to how these would bear themselves towards the Disruption. From the standpoint of calculating prudence, everything told against their joining the Free Church, and the Moderate party, as well as the Evangelical party, had despatched earnest warnings, especially to India, to guard the missionaries from joining it, since the Free Church was utterly unable to do anything for foreign missions, as the sacrifice required at home already exceeded its power. If, notwithstanding, they should do it, then they must do it with the loss of all mission property, which, as matter of course, remained with the State Church. The first to decide were the Jewish missionaries. With one heart they gladly went over to the Free Church. The men were gained, whilst all the money was lost. There were £3500 (\$14,700) in the treasury. The proposal to share it equally between both churches, as it had been contributed by the members of both, was declined. So the State Church kept all the money, the Free Church all the missionaries. The first collection for the Jewish mission was now appointed, and it realised £3400 (\$14,280). But what would the Indian missionaries do? The first news came from Dr. Wilson from Bombay. That accomplished missionary was on his way home on furlough when the tidings of the formation of the Free Church reached him in Egypt. Forthwith he announced his adhesion. In July the missionaries in India itself received from both churches the intelligence of what had happened at home. They unanimously declared their adhesion to the Free Church. The news from Calcutta, Bombay, and Poonah came just after the opening of the General Assembly in Glasgow, that from Madras before the close of the sittings. The first despatch of it lay at the bottom of the Red Sea, where the steamer which bore it had foundered. It was recovered later by divers, and is preserved to-day as a peculiarly interesting document in the missionary archives of the Free Church. The joy in the General Assembly at the adhesion of all the Indian missionaries was extraordinary,—“the most encouraging event in the beginning of the history of the Free Church.”

Nevertheless, it was not easy for the men in India, particularly for Dr. Duff, to give this adhesion. It meant severance from many dear friends, “and only a heart more cold and dead than mine can take such a step without

missions, that of the Established Church (E. Ch. Sc.), and that of the Free Church of Scotland (F. Ch. Sc.); for the latter also

pain." But how should it now be in India? Should two Presbyterian churches be in rivalry with each other? If that were not desirable, then either Dr. Duff must leave Calcutta, or the Scottish State Church must seek another place for its mission work. Against the former alternative, missionaries of all denominations, and all the Christian congregations of Calcutta, and the many hundreds of Duff's pupils, entered the most resolute protest; and the latter was as decidedly declined by the State Church, although it had been asked to go to Agra or Delhi. In the excitement which prevailed at home it was resolved rather to eject Dr. Duff and his colleagues from the school buildings they had hitherto occupied, and this decision was carried out even in face of the remonstrance that the buildings had been erected mainly by Duff's energy, that the contributions came mostly from friends who now belonged to the Free Church, etc. On the 9th of March 1844 a police officer made his appearance, and demanded the keys of the schoolhouse and of all the buildings annexed to it. Duff handed them over to him, and, stripped of everything, left with a heavy heart the place of his blessed labours.

In Bombay the case was similar. A new and large building had just been completed there. Not only this, but even the library and the medical cabinet, which were as good as Dr. Wilson's private property, had to be given over, in spite of all the remonstrances of the friends at home who had furnished the means. The value of all was £8000 (\$38,400).

In Madras, more fortunately, the premises were rented, but a collection of £500 (\$2400) just gathered was in the hands of the missionaries there, who, however, declared themselves ready to return their contributions to the donors if they desired to have them given to the State Church. No one, however, applied.

Thus the missionaries in India stood utterly poor in possessions, but not poor in faith. And their faith did not deceive them. Dr. Duff received the first gift from a merchant in America, £500 (\$2400); the second from a physician in Calcutta, also £500 (\$2400). Other large gifts followed. When Duff received the American contribution he sent proportional parts of it to Madras and Bombay. But he had a reply from Mr. Anderson: "Immediately on receipt of your letter it was clear to me that I must take nothing. We thank the donor as much as you do, but we are not in such straits as you are. Give us your prayers, but keep your money; we have enough, my brother."

By the 4th of January 1845, Duff had a larger school building than formerly, free of debt, and more pupils than in earlier times—1257. Everything else also, library, apparatus, etc., were soon furnished by a noble liberality.

But more than all that—the missionary spirit spread its wings more strongly than hitherto. "Now," wrote Dr. Wilson, even before he reached Scotland,—"now we must extend our work." At Nagpur, in India, a new mission was begun, towards which an official in Madras gave £500 (\$2400).

Shortly afterwards its South African Mission was taken over from the Glasgow Society and extended. Thus, in spite of the enormous sacrifices which had to be made for the reorganisation of the church at home, the contributions to missions grew apace, as is clearly shown by the following table of the missionary income in the United Scottish Church during the last six years before the Disruption, and that in the Free Church alone during the first six years after the Disruption. There was received—

<i>In the United State Church.</i>			<i>In the Free Church.</i>		
1837 . .	£10,070, about	\$48,336	1843-4 .	£23,874, about	\$114,595
1838 . .	13,800	66,240	1844-5 .	35,526	168,125
1839 . .	14,353	68,894	1845-6 .	43,310	207,890
1840 . .	16,156	77,549	1846-7 .	43,327	207,970
1841 . .	17,588	84,422	1847-8 .	47,568	216,326
1842 . .	20,191	96,817	1848-9 .	49,214	236,227
Total	£92,158	\$442,258	Total	£242,819	\$1,151,133

made its missions the concern of the church from the first. In the former, although the mission property remained to it, the continuance of mission work was already in jeopardy from lack of men to fill the places that had become empty, and a controversy broke out whether the hitherto educational method should not be replaced by an evangelistic method. The crisis, however, was overcome; in 1845 new missionaries were sent to India, where an endeavour was made to combine the educational and evangelistic methods; in 1876 to Central Africa (Shiré Highlands), and in 1877 to China. At home also earnestness and income increased, so that in the State Church (648,500 members) missionary life has signally grown since 1843. The number of its European missionaries is 39, and its annual income over £50,000 (\$240,000). Its mission work in the chief cities of India is still to-day mainly educational, but in the Punjaub, Darjeeling, etc., it has also considerable congregations. The Central African Mission (Blantyre) grows very hopefully; in China little has as yet been accomplished. The total number of its baptized native Christians is 10,000; and of its scholars, 15,300. Organ: *The Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Mission Record*; since the beginning of 1901, *Life and Work*.

The mission work of the Free Church is more important. As a result of the admirable home organisation into local societies, introduced by Duff, the income of the Free Church, with only about 361,000 communicants, has grown to over £67,000 (\$334,400). The total number of male missionaries in India, Africa (Kaffraria, Natal, Nyassa), the New Hebrides (since 1876, where the Reformed Presbyterians joined their missions there with the Free Church), Syria and Southern Arabia, reached [at the time of union with the United Presbyterian Church] 67; including the unordained, there were 118 male missionaries, besides 60 women. The number of scholars in 6 colleges and 516 schools, 35,000; that of communicants, 11,500; and of the rest of the baptized, 10,000. In India (Miller) the missions of the Free Church still lay main stress on educational work; and in South Africa also it has done excellent work in this direction, chiefly by means of its Lovedale Institute, which is also an industrial school (Dr. Stewart). The 25-years-old Livingstonia or Nyassa Mission (Dr. Laws) is flourishing in a most gladdening way.¹ Organ: *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly*.

68. The United Presbyterian Church (U. P. Ch.) in Scotland, which was constituted by the union (1847) of the Secession and the Relief Church, and which has now entered into a

¹ Jack, *Daybreak in Livingstonia*, Edinburgh, 1901.

union with the Free Church, has also been distinguished for its great liberality. With a total membership of only about 199,000, this denomination contributed annually for its ecclesiastical necessities and home charities about £392,000 (\$2,081,600); and for missions alone, which it makes the concern of the church, £44,000 (\$211,200). Both the Secession and Relief Churches had before their union [through separate societies¹] begun mission work in the West Indies, and from thence in West Africa (Old Calabar) and in Kaffraria, but only after the union was this work brought into organised connection with the church; the West Indies (Jamaica and Trinidad), Old Calabar and Kaffraria, North-West India, China (properly Manchuria), and lastly, in union with the American Presbyterians, Japan,² have been occupied. These missions together include over 95 male missionaries, and more than 30,000 communicants, of whom the majority are in Jamaica, Kaffraria, and Manchuria, where the eminent missionary Ross opened up the way, and the success of the mission has within recent years rapidly increased. Organ: *The Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church*.

69. On 31st October 1900 these two churches united to form the United Free Church of Scotland. From the beginning of 1901 the *Missionary Record of the Un. Free Ch. of Sc.* takes the place of the two former organs. The United Free Church also carries on missions as a concern of the church, and it forms one of the most important evangelical missionary organisations, with 330 missionaries and unmarried women missionaries, 41,500 native communicants, 56,000 scholars, and a home income for missions of about £120,000 (\$576,000), which, it is hoped, may be soon increased by a half.³

70. All the leading missionary societies enumerated up to this point are more or less distinctly denominational in

¹ See p. 97.

² [The mission to Japan is now being abandoned, in view of the number of societies working there, and the growing needs of other fields where the church has a more exclusive responsibility.—ED.]

³ [It may be added that of the number of missionaries given above, 128 are ordained, 54 hold a British medical qualification, and 4 others a local medical qualification. The native agency numbers 2230, of whom 35 are ordained pastors and 18 licentiates. In addition to the 41,500 communicants gathered round 156 principal stations, there are 13,667 candidates; and in addition to the home income above named, £62,533 was received at various stations abroad. The largest work is done in India, where, besides educational colleges in the three Presidency towns and Nagpore, extensive evangelistic work is carried on in the districts of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the Central Provinces, and Rajputana. Manchuria, Syria, and South Arabia are its other fields in Asia. In Africa, besides the Kaffrarian Missions in Cape Colony and the Zulu Missions in Natal, there are the Livingstonia and Old Calabar Missions. Jamaica, Trinidad, and the New Hebrides complete the list.—ED.]

character, and owe their origin mainly to the felt necessities of ecclesiastical separation at home. There were, it is true, many differences as to the manner and methods of mission work, but as good as no differences in principle. Everywhere the work of missions was begun with a certain simplicity (Naivität), without entering much on questions belonging to the theory of missions, and practical experience led on the whole to similarity of methods. First, there was the aiming at individual conversions; then came the founding and organising of small congregations and the concentration of mission work about fixed stations, the building of schools, even of higher schools, for the education of native helpers, Bible translations and other literary work, gradually also—especially under American incentive—the training of congregations to self-support. Almost insensibly the advance was made from the stage of individual conversions and the gathering of presumably elect congregations, to that of the Christianising of larger circles of people, but always without attaining any clear theory as to this course of development.

71. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, at first in England and later in America, other motives began to operate in the founding of new missionary societies. These had reference to the methods of carrying on missions in connection with certain interpretations of Scripture and forms of Christian life. This first appeared in the China Inland Mission (C. I. M.), founded in 1865, to which we must devote a somewhat fuller notice, for this reason, that not merely the strong personality of its founder, but also his Christian and missionary principles, have since exercised a great influence upon wide circles even beyond England, and have not inconsiderably altered the carrying on of missions. The founder of the China Inland Mission was the physician, J. Hudson Taylor, a man full of the Holy Ghost and of faith, of entire surrender to God and His call, of great self-denial, heartfelt compassion, rare power in prayer, marvellous organising faculty, energetic initiative, indefatigable perseverance, and of astonishing influence with men, and withal of childlike humility.¹ After having worked as a physician and evangelist in China from 1853, and after the spiritual need of the vast Chinese Empire had been laid as a burden on his soul, he founded with some few friends, on the occasion of a lengthened furlough in England, a society which should preach the Gospel exclusively in China, and that too in all its provinces. Two sorts of principles, which concern partly the missionary instruments and partly the missionary task, gave

¹ *A Retrospect by Rev. J. H. Taylor in China's Millions, 1886-1888.* Geraldine Guinness, *The Story of the China Inland M.*, London, 1893 and 1894.

to this China Mission its wholly peculiar cast. As to the former, they are the three following:—(1) The acceptance of missionaries from all sections of the church, if only they personally possess the old scriptural faith; that made the new mission interdenominational. (2) To qualify for missionary service, spiritual preparation is essential, but not an educational training. Missionaries from the universities are welcome, but equally so are such as have had the simplest schooling: it is imperative only that they have Bible knowledge and acquire the Chinese language. Also no difference is made as to sex. Women are as qualified for the service of missions, even for missionary preaching, as are men. And so at least half the missionaries of this society—if married women are included (as is always done in their statistics), almost two-thirds—are women, and since its foundation the number of women entering upon missionary service has steadily increased. Women, even unmarried, are employed as evangelists, even for missionary pioneer service in the interior. (3) No direct appeal is ever to be made to men for contributions to the expenses of the mission. Nor are the missionaries to reckon on a fixed salary, but must depend for their maintenance solely upon what God supplies. In a specific sense they are to be faith missionaries. The second series of principles is virtually determined by the expectation of the approaching second advent of Jesus. They have in view the hastening of His coming, by accomplishing the preaching of the Gospel as speedily as possible through the whole world. And so: (1) Witness-bearing is regarded as the essence of the missionary task. Since the matter in hand is not Christianising, but only that the Gospel be heard in the whole world, the missionary commission is limited to evangelisation; planting stations, building up congregations, educational work, extensive literary work, etc., are not absolutely necessary. Itinerant preaching is the chief thing; albeit practical good sense and experience have largely modified this principle, and stations have been almost everywhere organised. (2) In order speedily to bring the Gospel within the hearing of all nations, the largest possible hosts of evangelists must be sent out. “If,” as Taylor preaches and writes, “on a very low estimate there are in China 250 millions of people, that signifies not more than 50 million families. If now we had 1000 evangelists and colporteurs, each of whom reached 50 families daily, then in the course of 1000 days, or less than three years, the Gospel as written or preached might be offered to all. . . . Is an enterprise which 1000 men and women, after two years’ preparation in the language, might overtake in three years of steady work, to be considered a chimæra, that is beyond the power of the

church?"¹ On the basis of these theories, after repeated prayer to God for a definite number of missionaries, large bands of evangelists were sent out within a short time, as we shall see later on was also the case with the Alliance Mission. Especially when, through the so-called "Cambridge Seven" (Studd, the two Polhill-Turners, etc.), a very storm of enthusiasm for the C. I. M. was stirred in 1885, the sending out of missionaries increased, and that not alone from England, but also from Scandinavia, Germany, America, and Australia. In 1899 the number of missionaries is given as 811, of whom, however, 484 are women, married or unmarried, while of the 327 men only 75 are ordained. Worthy of respect as are the personal piety and self-sacrifice of these workers, yet, on the authority of reports deserving of credit, it must be doubted if all of them have been equal to their calling. It appears also that many must have returned, because after the numerous outsendings which have taken place every year the total number should far have exceeded 2000. The income derived without collecting reaches over £50,000 (\$240,000), of which about £42,500 (\$204,000) comes from England. The number of Chinese communicants, scattered through 15 provinces, is about 8500. The catastrophe of 1900 has smitten the work of the C. I. M. the most severely of all the Chinese missions. Almost all the inland stations had to be abandoned, and of their workers 58 (exclusive of 20 children) have been murdered.² Organ: *China's Millions*.

72. Quite on the lines of the C. I. M., only in some respects less moderate and laying stronger emphasis on the nearness to the Second Advent of Jesus, stands the East London Institute for Home and Foreign Missions, founded in 1872 by Grattan Guinness and his gifted wife. It has already trained by short courses 1100 young men and women for home and foreign mission work, most of whom have passed into the service of established societies. The institute, however, works a mission of its own among the Balolos in Mid-Congo, with 26 missionaries, including women, which as yet has had little result. In 1878 it began a Congo Inland Mission, which, after the loss of many lives, was handed over to the North American Baptist Union. Its annual missionary income is £11,000 (\$52,800). Organ: *Regions Beyond*.

Akin in spirit to both of these is the North African Mission, which sprang from a mission to the Kabyles. It has

¹ It is certainly so to be considered, not because it exceeds the power of the church, but because the whole way of looking at the matter is unspiritual. Cf. the criticism of this whole evangelisation theory in Warneck, *Ev. Missionslehre*, iii. 224, and *A. M.-Z.*, 1897, 305: "Die moderne Weltevangélisations-Theorie."

² Broomhall, *Martyred Missionaries of the C. I. M., with a Record of the Perils and Sufferings of some who escaped*, London, 1901.

established one after another from Morocco to Egypt about 20 stations with 85 missionaries, for the most part young women, who in addition to preaching seek to work specially by home visitation, medical labour, and the circulation of the Scriptures among the people of Arabia and Barbary, up till now with little success and not always in a sound way. Its income is about £10,000 (\$48,000). Organ: *North Africa*.

Not in connection with these societies, yet resembling them in so far as it also breaks with traditional methods and would conquer the world by storm, the Salvation Army has entered upon mission work in India, Ceylon, and South Africa. Over 600 "officers," male and female, shout their "War Cry" in these regions amongst Christians as well as heathens, and in their meetings tens of thousands profess themselves "converts." In their mission work they follow the same charlatan fashion which they exhibit at home, often enough to the offence of the most earnest Christians. Indeed, on the mission fields this theatrical style makes a much more injurious impression than at home. Moreover, the inconsiderateness with which the officers intrude upon the fields of other missionary societies creates much confusion. Excitement but little real result is the issue of their wild evangelism.

73. As already indicated, women's missionary societies have in the course of the latter half of our century been formed in ever increasing number. These are for the most part in connection with the larger missionary societies, and either send out lady missionaries (especially teachers, deaconesses, and physicians), or support certain branches of mission work by money, or gifts in kind, etc. The number of these is considerable. Unhappily, this female missionary activity, which employs the services of about 3000 unmarried female missionaries, chiefly from England and America, does not always work on sound lines. The employment of women as evangelists is always increasing; perhaps the sad catastrophe in China will somewhat moderate it.¹

74. Of the many other British societies which directly or indirectly support the work of missions, four may be specially mentioned:—

(1) The old "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," which annually devotes £15,000 (\$72,000), chiefly for literary purposes (translations), and mainly in connection with Indian missions.

(2) The "Religious Tract Society," founded in 1799, which sets apart a similar sum for like purposes not only in behalf of almost all British missions, but in behalf also of the missions

¹ Warneck, *Ev. Missionslehre*, ii. 248.

of foreign countries. In the course of last century it has issued books in nearly 200 different languages and dialects.

(3) The great "British and Foreign Bible Society," called into existence in 1804, which spreads its blessed work over the whole earth. Of its total income, of about £225,000 (\$1,706,000), it expends about £90,000 (\$432,000) upon missions, partly for the publication of Bible translations and new editions of the Bible, partly for the maintenance of male and female colporteurs. Since its foundation this society has at its own cost had the Bible translated in whole or in part into more than 350 languages, or has aided the publishing of the translations; and it now supports 725 Bible colporteurs, without reckoning the 500 Bible-women to whose maintenance it contributes. The great majority of the translations have been made into the missionary languages, and of the colporteurs about 280 are in missionary service.¹

(4) The "Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society" (since 1841) and the "London Medical Missionary Association" (since 1878), which prepare doctors for missionary service, with a total income of about £5000 (\$24,000).

In sum-total the British contributions for missions to-day stand close upon:—Income, £1,500,000 (\$7,200,000); male missionaries, 2750, including non-ordained; unmarried ladies, about 1700.

SECTION 2. NORTH AMERICA.

75. From Great Britain we turn first of all to the kindred land of North America. As has already been shown, the first Protestant missionary endeavours were made there as early as the seventeenth century, the occasion for them lying close at hand in the nearness of the heathen Indians. These endeavours, however, which remained mostly individual enterprises, had to suffer greatly, and gradually failed, under the adverse influence of increasing race-hatred and repeated wars; and they gave no impulse to an extension of mission work in the rest of the heathen world. That impulse came much more from England, alike through the reports of the new missionary societies founded there, and through a treatise by Buchanan, the Indian government chaplain, *The Star in the East*. In the first instance there arose several small Baptist, Presbyterian, and Congregational missionary societies, whose aim was the circulation of missionary intelligence, the gathering of contributions, and the fostering of prayer for missions. Some

¹ In 1899 there were in all 406 Bible translations, namely, 111 of the whole Bible, 91 of the New Testament, and 204 of separate books of the Bible. Watt, *Four Hundred Tongues*, London, 1899. [See additional note, p. 144.—Ed.]

new magazines also were started, which earnestly advocated the cause of missions: *The Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, *The Massachusetts Missionary Magazine*, and *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, *The Panoplist and Religious Intelligencer*. But the missionary movement first came into active flow through the instrumentality of some young students who were awakened during a spiritual revival which stirred a number of theological seminaries, notably that of Andover.¹ The first impetus was given by Samuel Mills, who with some comrades (Richards and Hall) had privately bound himself in Williams' College "personally to carry out a mission to the heathen." In Andover this band was increased by the accession of Nott, Newell, and Judson, and these young men, full of missionary enthusiasm, in June 1810 addressed to the Conference of Preachers of Massachusetts, met at Bradford, the inquiry: "Whether they would probably be supported by a home missionary society in their purpose to go as missionaries to the heathen?" That question led forthwith to the formation, in the autumn of 1810, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A. B. C. F. M.). At first an alliance with the London Missionary Society was thought of, since in 1811 the young missionary society had only collected about £200 (\$960); but when in 1812 that sum rose to £2722 (\$13,066), it ventured to send out the first missionaries (Judson, Newell, then Hall, Rice, and Nott), and that to India. Mills² remained still in America to raise funds for the mission at home, and did so with large success. Moreover, on his incentive, the American Bible Society and the Colonisation Society for Western Africa, which settled negroes from the United States in Liberia, were both founded in 1816. In India, the East India Company gave the American missionaries a very inhospitable reception. Judson and Rice, who had joined the Baptists and had been baptized in Serampore, had to leave the country. They went to Burma, where, especially amongst the Karens, a future rich in blessing awaited them; and their action occasioned the foundation of an American Baptist Missionary Society. The others, after many reverses, at last gained a footing in Ceylon and Bombay. In 1817 the Board began its missions in the Indies. In 1819, moved by some young Sandwich islanders who had come to America, it sent the first missionaries to Hawaii, and in the same year to Palestine, from which the work gradually spread to the Eastern churches in the whole of the Turkish Empire. To

¹ Leonard, "The Origin of Missions in America," *Miss. Review of the World*, 1892, 422.

² *The Church at Home and Abroad*, July 1897, 52: "Sam. John Mills."

these fields there were added in 1830, West Africa (Sierra Leone and Gaboon); in 1835, South-East Africa (Zululand); in 1847, China; in 1852, Micronesia; in 1869, Japan; and in 1880, West Africa again (Bihé); whilst from 1831 its missions in India have gradually extended to six different fields. Originally the Dutch Reformed and the Presbyterian churches belonged to the American Board; but at a later date both separated from it to work missions of their own, and obtained from the Board the conveyance to them of several fields already occupied (Amoy in China, Arcot in India, Syria, Siam, Gaboon), so that the Board is now purely Congregational. As, according to the principles of this denomination, missions are in the home land really a congregational concern, and not subject to strict guidance, so also on the mission fields the aim is not towards the organisation of churches but of single independent congregations, whose independence unhappily has repeatedly, as in Hawaii and Japan, been forced in a manner contrary to sound development. We are indebted to the American Board, especially to its most distinguished secretary, Rufus Anderson, for his energetic advocacy of the training the native Christian congregations to self-support, self-government, and self-expansion, but we cannot give to the "doctrinaire" haste with which he sought to realise these principles, the praise of educational wisdom. Only well-educated men are sent out as missionaries, but the choice of their field of work is left free to themselves, and unhappily they often change. Amongst them is a splendid list of eminent men, *e.g.* Scudder and Winslow in Southern India, Poor in Ceylon, Parsons and Fisk in Syria, Bridgeman in China, and Greene, Gulick, Davis, Deforest, Berry in Japan. At present the Board has 177 ordained and non-ordained missionaries, and 186 unmarried female missionaries on 17 mission fields, and, including Hawaii, about 55,000 members in full communion. Its income, which of late years has not met the expenditure, so that its work has had to be curtailed, reaches nearly £135,000 (\$648,000). It would appear that the old missionary zeal is somewhat flagging among the Congregationalists. Organ: *The Missionary Herald*.¹

The American Missionary Association, established in 1846, is also virtually Independent. After a passing activity in Western Africa, it confines itself now to work among the negroes, Indians, and Chinese in the United States. Especially

¹ Tracy, *History of the A.B.C.F.M.*, New York, 1842. *Memorial Volume of the first fifty years of the A.B.C.F.M.*, Boston, 1863. Anderson, *History of the Missions of the A.B.C.F.M.*—(α) to the Sandwich Islands, (β) to the Oriental Churches, (γ) to India, Boston, 1872, 1873, 1875.

amongst the first, who nominally at least are no longer heathens, it carries on an extensive work in schools and congregations. Organ: *American Missionary*.

76. In 1814 the second great American Missionary Society came into life, the General Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions, which later took as its title the American Baptist Missionary Union (A. B. M. U.). Its foundation was occasioned by the going over to the Baptists of the missionaries Judson and Rice, sent by the American Board, as has been already noticed, the English Baptist Missionary Society having already declined to take these men into its service. The young society carried on with growing earnestness the mission already begun in Burma, to which was added in 1827 the prosperous mission amongst the Karens, in which, besides Judson, Boardman, Wade, and Mason, were the heroic and blessed leaders. Missions in Siam and Assam followed in 1833 and 1836, in 1840 amongst the Telegus in India Proper, in China in 1843, in Japan in 1872, and in 1866 on the Congo. Besides the mission among the Karens, that amongst the Telegus has been especially successful. In all its fields the Baptist Union has to-day over 120,000 members in full communion and 180 missionaries, besides a large mass of native workers. Its total income for missions to the heathen amounts to over £100,000 (\$480,000). Organ: *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*. In 1845, owing to the question of slavery, a separate Southern Baptist Convention was formed. It carries on mission work amongst the heathen in China, Western Africa, and Japan with 35 missionaries, has about 5000 communicants, and expends about £20,000 (\$96,000). Organ: *Foreign Missionary Journal*. The Free Baptists and the Seventh-day Baptists maintain only small missions in India and China. They have 10 missionaries and 850 communicants. Their united income is £6000 (\$28,800).

77. In America it now came to pass, as it had done in England:—Missionary efforts became linked to separate denominations, and there is a really bewildering mass of in part quite small societies, which the American spirit of division has from time to time called into existence. I confine myself to citing only the most important of each leading denomination, and simply registering summarily the rest.¹ I leave out of consideration the proselytising and evangelising work amongst

¹ For information as to the many ecclesiastical forms of North American Protestantism, cf. Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States from the First Settlement down to the Present Time*, New York, 1888; and Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States*. *The American Church History Series*, vol. i., New York, 1893. *The Miss. Review of the World* furnishes annually a survey of all the American mission societies.

Protestants and Catholics which most of the American missionary societies combine with their missions to the heathen.

At the instigation of the English Church Missionary Society, a "Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society" (P. E. M.) was founded in 1820 by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, but only fifteen years later did it establish a mission, that under Bishop Auer in Western Africa (Cape Palmas). In 1834, as a second mission field, China was added (Boone and Schereshefsky); in 1859, Japan (Bishop Williams); in 1862, Haiti. Besides these, the Episcopalians carry on an extensive "domestic mission" which embraces the coloured population of North America. The number of their missionaries to the heathen is 50, of their communicants 5800, and the income devoted to missions to the heathen is almost £50,000 (\$240,000). Organ: *The Spirit of Missions*.

78. Amongst the Methodists, the Episcopalian branch (North and South) is most earnest in mission work. The Northern Methodist Episcopal Church (M. E. N.) founded its missions amongst the Indians in 1819, amongst the heathen abroad in 1833, first in Liberia, then in 1847 in China, in 1856 in Northern India, in 1872 in Japan, in 1885 in Corea. Besides these, it carries on an extensive work not only in different Catholic countries (now also on the Philippines), but also in evangelical countries on the continent of Europe, which naturally do not concern us here.¹ It supports 210 missionaries to the heathen, besides a great number of native helpers; reckons besides 55,000 communicants, and has a yearly income of £200,000 (\$960,000).² Organ: *The Gospel in all Lands*. The Southern Methodist Episcopal Church (M. E. S.) entered upon missionary work in 1846, and labours besides amongst the Indians in China and Japan. It has in all 40 missionaries and 7000 communicants. Its annual income is £37,500 (\$168,000).

In loose connection with the Northern Episcopal Methodists was the somewhat adventurous mission of William Taylor, who had been consecrated "Bishop of Africa," a romantic revival preacher of as great energy and devotion as of feverish unrest and declamatory rhetoric, who had travelled through almost all the world, and in 1884, when over 60 years of age, attempted

¹ I take this opportunity of renewing my public protest, made over and over again, against the impropriety of cataloguing in the Reports the Catholic and Protestant lands in which the Methodist propagation is carried on, right in the midst of the heathen fields. Thus in the Reports for 1893 the mission fields are brought forward in the following order, as if heathen fields were being dealt with without distinction: Liberia, Congo, South America, Fuchow, Ginchera, China, North and South Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, India, Malaysia, Bulgaria, Italy, Japan, Mexico, and Corea.

² Reid, *Missions and Miss. Soc. of the Meth. Episcopal Ch.* Revised and extended by Gracy, 3 vols., New York, 1896.

to found a so-called "Self-sustaining Industrial Mission" in West Africa (Liberia, Angola, Congo), with a great band of almost utterly untrained male and female evangelists. From this "heroic"—one would more fitly say fantastic—mission Mr. Taylor has now retired; and his successor, Bishop Hartzell, passed an unmistakable criticism upon it in his first report. The former wordy and hazy reports gave no reliable details either of the extension, or the results, or the expenditure of the mission. The organ of the mission too has repeatedly changed its name; at first it was called *African News*, then *Illustrated Africa*, then *The Illustrated Christian World*; and now it seems to have become extinct,—at least it no longer comes under my eyes. With the departure of Taylor the mission he unsoundly conducted has been placed under the supervision of the General Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church; the wholly inadequate statistical statements of the last annual report, so far as concerns the Congo M. Conf. or Angola, show how exaggerated the former bulletins have been.¹ A little African Methodist Episcopal Church, composed of negroes, which up till now has worked with only 3 missionaries in the West Indies and Western Africa (income £4000 (\$19,200), 100 communicants), has recently sent its bishop, Turner, for a temporary stay to South Africa with the view of organising there an independent negro church, the so-called Ethiopian Church, with the watchword, "Africa for the Africans." The theatrical appearance of the black "Right Reverend," however, after creating no small excitement, seems not to have been followed by a second visit.

79. Among the Presbyterians, the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America takes the foremost place. It was instituted in 1837, after separation from the American Board, and, without taking into view Mexico, South America, and recently the Philippines, it has from time to time begun missions amongst the Indians, in Syria, Persia, India, Siam, West Africa (Gaboon), China and Japan, where it was first in the field (Hepburn). There are 290 missionaries to the heathen in its service, and its income is nearly £150,000 (\$720,000). The number of its communicants from among the heathen is over 31,000. Unhappily, in consequence of the falling off of its income, its work has been curtailed, and this has proved disastrous especially to its evangelistic labour among the Christians in Syria. Organ: *Assembly Herald of the Presb. Ch. U.S.A.*, formerly *The Church*

¹ *Illustr. Chr. World*, 1897, 2. The first account which Bishop Hartzell gives sustains our criticism, namely, that the "work" of Taylor proves itself as a house built on sand (*Miss. Herald*, 1897, 298).

at Home and Abroad. Next to it the Presbyterians of the South, "Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States (South)," and the United Presbyterians (Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America), do the most important missionary work: the former since 1861, in China, Japan, on the Congo, and in Corea, with altogether 50 missionaries, 2000 communicants, and an income of £20,000 (\$96,000), (Organ: *The Missionary*); the latter since 1859, in China, India, and Egypt, with 45 missionaries, 8000 communicants, and an income of £25,000 (\$120,000). The Reformed (Dutch and German) churches maintain together 46 missionaries in China, Japan (Dr. Verbeck¹), India, and Arabia, and have over 7000 communicants. Their total income is about £35,000 (\$168,000). The Disciples of Christ have 55 missionaries and 2700 communicants in China, Japan, India, and Turkey. Income, £30,000 (\$144,000). The most of these missionary societies are official organisations of their respective churches, and obtain their ordained missionaries from the theological institutions of these churches.

80. The same holds of the Lutheran churches of the United States. In proportion to their numerical strength,² they do but scant service in missions to the heathen. Two older romantic missionary enterprises among the Indians in Michigan have passed away with almost no result, and a more recent Indian mission of the Wisconsin Synod in Arizona is still in its beginnings. No doubt the tardy and inadequate participation of the Lutheran or German churches of North America in foreign missions may be accounted for by the extensive and intensive work among immigrants, whose ingathering and organisation of churches claimed their principal energies; these churches, too, have sent contributions, certainly not very large ones, to different German missionary societies; but if they had not waged so many fruitless confessional controversies among themselves, their activity in respect of missions to the heathen would not have been so far behind that of other denominations. The General Synod and the General Council support, one since

¹ Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, New York, 1900.

² They are divided into the following bodies:—(1) General Synod, const. 1820, representing the new or American ("lay") Lutheranism. (2) General Council, const. 1867, representing a moderate Lutheran creed. (3) Synodal Conference, const. 1872, with Missouri, representing the most exclusive Lutheranism. (4) United Synod of the South, const. 1886, between the General Synod and General Council. (5) 16 Independent Synods (Ohio, Iowa, etc.). These bodies have altogether a total membership of 1,665,878 communicants. To these have to be added the United German Evangelical Synod of N. America, with 203,574 communicants, and the German Evan. Prot. Church, also not of the Lutheran creed, with about 36,156 communicants. If even the Lutheran churches alone formed one community, they would form, next to the Methodists and the Baptists, the strongest evangelical church body in N. America.

1841, and both since 1874, a mission in Teluguland (India), with 15 missionaries and about 8000 communicants; and the former also supports the little Mühlenberg Mission in Liberia (Day). The German Evangelical Synod has been at work since 1867 in the Central Provinces of India with 7 missionaries (800 communicants). The Missouri Synod carries on amongst the Tamuls a limited mission with few workers, which has unhappily placed itself in unfriendly opposition to the Leipsic Mission there. The total incomes range about £16,000 (\$76,700).

81. In Canada there are eight Evangelical missionary societies, of which the Baptist, the Methodist, and the Presbyterian are the most important. They have in all 87 missionaries, and an income exceeding £63,000 (\$302,400), and 10,000 communicants. Their main mission fields are the East and West Indies, Japan, China, and the New Hebrides.

82. Whilst the wealth of North America in missionary societies has its chief reason in the great denominational division of Protestantism there, and in its independent spirit of freedom, since the middle of the "eighties" a powerful double movement has come to the front, which bears an inter-denominational character and approximates very closely in its principles to the direction taken by the China Inland Mission, namely, the Student Volunteer Movement for foreign missions, and the Alliance Missions. At the close of 1884, by means of the so-called "Cambridge Seven," who entered the service of the China Inland Mission (p. 104), a potent missionary fire was kindled among the student youth of England and Scotland; it soon caught hold also of the youth of North America, where the Young Men's Christian Associations, and especially the so-called "Endeavour" societies, as also the evangelistic labours of Moody, had well prepared the ground for missionary movement amongst pupils in the high schools and male and female students. At a conference of students which Moody summoned to Mount Hermon, Massachusetts, in the middle of 1886, and which was held for some weeks and devoted to practical study of the Bible, there was formed, chiefly on the incentive of young Mr. Wilder, a band of such students, or those of both sexes preparing to be students, who made a written declaration that they were willing to become missionaries if God permitted, and who chose as their watchword: "The evangelisation of the world in this generation." The first hundred who so united themselves at Mount Hermon then organised an agitation in the colleges and seminaries, which, certainly not without Methodistical forcing and the rhetoric of enthusiasm, set a movement at work that in a comparatively short time made,

it was said, over 5000 young people willing to join the band, which was now constituted as the Student Volunteer Missionary Union (S. V. M. U.).

Although in recent years the movement has become in some measure clarified, still the rhetorical watchword, which is treated like an inspiration,¹ creates some confusion, and the expositions which are given of it are very contradictory. If it is understood literally, that (not the Christianising,—that is declined, but) the evangelisation of the whole non-Christian world should be actually carried through in the life-time of those now living, then the realisation of this phrase “within a generation,” apart from all other improbabilities, is rendered impossible by this, that within such a short space of time the crowd of languages which are spoken in the world where as yet no missionaries have been placed, cannot be mastered in a manner qualifying for the intelligible expression of the fundamental truths of the Gospel. But if by this fascinating motto is understood only a temperate appeal to the present generation to sacrifice everything in its power in order that it may in its time carry the Gospel as far out into the world as God may open the doors and provide the means, then indeed this call deserves to be taken universally to heart; but the watchword in which it is embodied expresses it in a way very open to misapprehension. Happily the movement has not led to the founding of new missionary societies, and up till now its leaders have decided to resist all pressure in that direction, and also to discountenance the going out as individual missionaries. They have also distinctly declared themselves against the conception of evangelisation as only a hurried proclamation of the message of salvation through the whole world. It is to be hoped that this movement, otherwise so gladdening, will become increasingly sound and healthy by avoiding all wholesale driving and dropping the rhetorical phrase. Able advocates besides Wilder, especially Mr. Mott, have sought to transplant the movement not only into England and the Continent, but also upon the mission fields of Asia,—in England with much success, as yet with less on the Continent. Organs: *The Student Volunteer*, and *The Student Movement*.²

¹ Mott, *The Evangelisation of the World in this Generation*, London, 1900.

² *Miss. Rev.*, 1889, 824: “The Student Missionary Uprising. Report of the Detroit Convention,” Boston, 1894. Wishard, “A New Programme of Missions,” New York, 1895; cf. *Miss. Rev.*, 1895, 641. *Report of the International Students’ Miss. Conference at Liverpool*, 1896. *Intelligencer*, 1896, 253: “The Evangelisation of the World in this Generation.” “Memorial of the Stud. Vol. Miss. Union to the Church of Christ of Britain”; *Intelligencer*, 1897, 371, and *The Student Volunteer*, 1897, 77. “The Student Miss. Appeal. Addresses of the Third International Convention of the S. V. M. at Cleveland, 1898; cf. *A. M. Z.*, 1898, 278.

83. Whilst the Student Missionary movement contents itself with enlisting workers for the existing missionary societies, a new mission has arisen in 1887 out of the Christian Alliance, of which the evangelist Simpson is the leader. This mission, indeed, was originally designated the International Missionary Alliance, but it soon divided into three branches: an American, a Scandinavian, and a very small German one. Now it is called the Christian and Missionary Alliance. A characteristic feature of this most recent mission is the "Fourfold Gospel" of the Alliance: Redemption, Sanctification, Healing, and the Second Advent. On the basis of this Gospel a Christian brotherhood has been formed, which is "to unite the great number of sanctified Christians in the various evangelical churches, who believe on the Lord Jesus as on Him who redeems, sanctifies, heals, and is coming." The aim of this union is by fellowship and prayer to encourage and strengthen the members in the different forms of Christian faith and of active Christian love, everywhere to quicken a deeper Christian life, and so to prepare the Advent of the Lord. It is altogether under this last point of view that the work of missions is placed, their task being simply to make known the message of the Gospel in the world, and, in order that this may be accomplished as quickly as possible, to send forth great hosts of evangelists. The idea was, with the help of 20,000 missionaries, to evangelise the world before the end of 1900! In the course of eight years this whimsical mission has not only attracted an amazingly large following, but has also sent out more than 330 missionaries, male and female, most of them, it is true, little trained and not equal to their calling, into the four quarters of the earth, "to claim these for God." Astonishing as this growth is, just so much ground does it give for most serious reflections. The works of God are not of such hot-house growth, and from such intemperate enthusiasm nothing healthy can be born. Without enlightened leading much noble energy will be scattered through the wide world, and misspent to no profit. Already a paralysing coolness seems to have begun; the means of support, which at first flowed in to superfluity,—in a single meeting once £20,000 (\$96,000),—do not suffice to protect the numerous missionaries from the bitterest need, and irregularities in the administration have already led to a painful public discussion. Of any results from the past twelve years' work there is nothing to report. At present the Missionary Alliance has about 100 missionaries, 95 unmarried women missionaries, and deals with an income of about £20,000 (\$96,000). Organ: *The Christian Alliance*.

Totals for North America, including Canada.

Male missionaries, including non-ordained, about	1630
Unmarried female missionaries, about	1200
Income (for missions to the heathen), about	£850,000
(4 $\frac{1}{4}$ million dollars).	

SECTION 3. GERMANY

84. Returning now from America to the continent of Europe, in order to glance at the development of missionary life during last century, our attention is first claimed for Germany. At the close of the eighteenth century there were two home centres of missions in our Fatherland: Halle and Herrnhut. But, as already noticed, the Danish-Halle Mission was leading as yet only a sickly existence. The State missionary college in Copenhagen had already governed it half-way to death, and in Germany rationalism brought matters to such a pass that no suitable missionaries for India were any longer to be procured. Under the influence of rationalism, the East Indian Missionary Institute at Halle was gradually deserted, until at length it ceased entirely to send out messengers. To-day it has only the name and a capital of £12,000 (\$57,600), with the interest of which it supports chiefly the Leipsic and Gossner missions.

85. On the other hand, the Church of the Brethren was little affected by the current of rationalism, and that not only saved its own missions, but also gave it a great direct and indirect influence upon the new missionary movements that were beginning to arise on both sides of the Channel. The period from 1800 to 1832 may, it is true, be described as "the quiet time." The work of missions, however, suffered no interruption, and after the centenary rejoicings it began to grow considerably, both inwardly and outwardly. It now embraces twenty-one mission fields, most of which lie in America (Greenland,¹ Labrador, Alaska, the West Indies, Moskito, Surinam), four lie in Africa (South and German East Africa), two in Australia, one in British India, with in all 32,500 communicants (95,500 Christians). There are 194 missionaries in its service; the income from contributions reaches £27,500 (\$133,200), whilst the expenditure exceeds £83,000 (\$398,400). The great excess is met by profits from trade, government subsidies, and church offerings in the mission fields. Out of the large number of its well-known missionaries let it suffice to name David Nitschmann, Frederic Bönisch, Matthew Stach, Kleinschmidt, David

¹ [The Moravian Church withdrew its missions from Greenland in September 1900, transferring their congregations and the work by an amicable arrangement to the Danish State church.—Ed.]

Zeisberger, Christian H. Rauch, Hallbeck, Kohlmeister, Iäске, Hagenauer. Organ: *Missionsblatt der Brudergemeine*, and *Periodical Accounts relating to the Moravian Missions*.

86. In the year 1800, "Father" Jänicke, preacher of the Bohemian Church in Berlin, a solitary witness of the Gospel in a time of little faith, made the beginning there towards a larger participation by Germany in the extension of Christianity, by founding a missionary school. Alike through his earlier connection with the Church of the Brethren and through his brother, who was a missionary of Halle in the East Indies, missions had for a long time lain close to Jänicke's heart; but the actual impulse to the opening of the missionary school he received from a pious layman, the chief ranger von Schirnding in Dobrilugk, who on his part had been inspired with missionary stimulus from England, and had been invested with the office of a director of the London Missionary Society in Germany. From that missionary school, begun with much prayer and great boldness of faith, there went out, up to the death of Jänicke in 1827, about eighty missionaries, many of them very able men, *e.g.* B. Rhenius, Nylander, the two Albrechts, Schmelen, Pacalt, Riedel, Gutzlaff, who, however, were appointed to the service of English and Dutch missionary societies, since there was as yet no thought of sending missionaries out from the school itself. The school subsequently went to decay in consequence of incapable management, but it gave an impulse to the founding of the Berlin Missionary Society, which came to life in 1824.

87. The English influences were more decided in Basel. Here a preparation had been made for missionary action by means of the "German Society for the Promotion of Pure Doctrine and True Godliness," called into existence in 1780 by Augustus Urlsperger, Dean of Augsburg, a society which, in the first instance, it is true, had aimed only at a union of scattered believers and a revival of dead Christians. This "Deutsche Christenthumsgesellschaft," which had its seat in Basel, came, however, also to take a lively interest in the new English missionary enterprises, and by the ample information regarding these enterprises which it gave in its organ, *Gatherings for Lovers of Christian Truth*, it sought also to foster an interest in missions to the heathen within the circles connected with it. Such circles already existed, especially in Würtemberg and in Switzerland, where the old Danish-Halle Mission had had many friends, amongst them men so influential as the court-preacher Samuel Urlsperger, father of the Dean of Augsburg, Bishop Bengel, and Albrecht von Haller. In these circles the first secretaries of the German Christenthumsgesellschaft,

Frederic Steinkopf, Christian Gottlieb Blumhardt, and Christian Frederic Spittler, who may be said to be the fathers of the Basel Missionary Society, found such an intelligent apprehension of missions that in 1815 they ventured to proceed to the founding of a German missionary institute of their own, and that in Basel. True, here also the beginning was in the first instance only with the opening of a missionary school. Its first inspector was Blumhardt, who in 1816 issued a quarterly missionary magazine, *Neueste Magazin für die Geschichte der protestantischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften*, which, in somewhat different form, still exists under the title *Evangel. Miss. Magazin*, and has rendered incalculable service in the diffusion of missionary intelligence and the awakening and stimulating of missionary life in Germany and Switzerland. But in 1822 the missionary school, from which in the course of these years eighty-eight pupils had passed over to the Church Missionary Society, broadened into an independent institute for sending forth missionaries. Of the many who quickened and fostered missionary life in the missionary circles connected with Basel, the most influential was Christian Gottlieb Barth. The first missionary efforts were directed to the revival of the Eastern churches in the Russian Caucasus (Zaremba, Pfander). These efforts were gradually extended as far as Persia. But in 1835 they were brought to an end by an imperial interdict. An enterprise begun in Liberia in 1827 had also no abiding result. Only very slowly and after overcoming great difficulties was a firm footing obtained on the Gold Coast, where to-day the Basel mission field stretches into Ashanti and up to the Volta with increasing success. In 1834 India (the South-West Coast), in 1846 China (the Province of Canton), and in 1886 the Cameroons were added. On all these fields the Basel Missionary Society now maintains 189 missionaries, and reckons 40,700 baptized Christians (29,000 communicants), and 20,000 scholars in its admirably organised schools. Its income amounts to £56,000 (\$268,000). Besides the first inspector Blumhardt, the society had eminently capable directors in W. Hoffmann and J. Josenhans. Amongst its many able missionaries we name only Riis, Zimmermann, Christaller, Ramseyer (Gold Coast), Hebich, Mögling, Gundert, Weigle, Möricke (India), Lechler (China). It is a characteristic feature of the Basel mission work that it has combined with it an industrial enterprise which is placed under a special missionary trading society. Basel also was the first of the German missionary societies to incorporate medical missions in its operations, and of these it gives every year a special report. In its beginning the Basel Mission united believing Christians of both evangelical

creeds in Germany and Switzerland; subsequently separations took place on confessional and territorial grounds. Württemberg and Switzerland, however, preserved the old united relation. In spite of its Swiss centre, the society has always kept its German character. Organ: *Der evangelische Heidenbote*.

88. On account of its local nearness to and its historical connection with the Basel Missionary Society, we shall best here include the Pilgrim Mission School, founded in 1840 by Spittler, a man of agile spirit, on the Chrischonaberg, near Basel, which gradually developed into a home and foreign mission institute. The Syrian Orphanage in Jerusalem was established by it, and the laying out of an Apostles' Street between Jerusalem and Gondar was planned, of which, however, only two stations, and these temporary, were formed in Egypt. Missionaries were sent directly from the Chrischona Institute to Palestine, Egypt, and Abyssinia, whilst it allowed a larger number of its pupils to enter the service of other missionary societies. Latterly the institute confined itself exclusively to home mission and evangelistic work, and it is only in very recent times that it has again sent out some of its envoys as missionaries to the heathen, and this to China, in loose connection with the China Inland Mission.

89. From Basel we turn back to Berlin, where in 1823 ten notable men, theologians (Neander and Tholuck), jurists (Bethmann-Hollweg, Lancizolle, and Lecoq) and officers (von Gerlach and von Röder) issued "An Appeal for Charitable Contributions in Aid of Evangelical Missions," the result of which was the institution in 1824 of a Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der evangelischen Missionen unter den Heiden (Society for Promoting Evangelical Missions to the Heathen) (Berlin I.), the provisions of which received the royal sanction. As the endeavour to amalgamate this society with the missionary school of Jänicke did not succeed, an independent missionary seminary was founded in 1830, and as early as 1834 it sent out its first missionaries to South Africa, where the work, at first indeed gradually, and after several sore experiences, entered on a career of blessing. The mission field there has by degrees broadened out into six well organised synods: Cape Colony, Kaffraria, Orange Free State, South and North Transvaal, and Natal. In 1872 the work of the old Berlin Chinese Missionary Society in the Province of Canton, founded by Gützlaff, was taken over; and in 1891, in German East Africa, the Konde Mission was begun, which has already extended to the Wahehe, embraces 12 stations, and has reaped its first harvest. Altogether the society reckons, apart from merchants and colonists, 100 missionaries, but its income of about £25,000 (\$120,000) does

not meet its growing needs. The total number of baptized native Christians under its care is 37,300. Its confessional position is the Lutheran within the United Church. It had gifted and energetic directors in Wallmann and Wangemann, and in Ahlfeld, Knack, Görke, Licht, men of power for awakening and fostering missionary life at home. Out of the number of its able missionaries we name only the original Posselt, the philologist D. Kropf, and Merensky. Organ: *Die Berliner Missions-Berichte*.

90. As early as 1799 a little union of twelve pious laymen (Pelzer, Ball) was formed at Elberfeld, for the purpose of intercession for missions to the heathen. After some time it issued the periodical, *Nachrichten von der Ausbreitung des Reiches Jesu insbesondere unter den Heiden*. Gradually the union was enlarged by accessions of members from without; it founded the Bergische Bible Society and the Tract Society of Wupperthal, and began mission work among the Jews, which led to the founding of a home for proselytes in Düsseldorf, which, however, was given up in 1828. On the initiative of Blumhardt, the Basel inspector, a missionary society came into existence in Barmen in 1819. At first it was united with Basel, but in 1828 (after it had already in 1825 opened a missionary school) it joined with Elberfeld, Cologne, and Wesel to found a Rhenish Missionary Association of their own. Amid great popular interest the first four missionaries were appointed to South Africa in 1829, where the Rhenish mission field now extends over Cape Colony, Namaland, Hereroland, and a part of Ovamboland. In 1834 a further mission was undertaken to Borneo, in 1862 on the neighbouring island of Sumatra, and in 1865 on Nias; in 1846 a mission was begun in China, and in 1887 in Kaiser Wilhelmsland. With the exception of China, where the work has been considerably curtailed, and Borneo, where there is still always the expectation of the opening of a great door, there are increasing harvests on all the fields of the Rhenish mission. The Cape congregations are, at least financially, entirely self-supporting, and a native Christian church is being formed amongst the Bataks in Sumatra. Of the 82,000 baptized native Christians connected with the society, 46,000 are in Sumatra; 130 missionaries, including 4 medical missionaries, besides 15 female missionaries, are in its service, and its income amounts to £33,750 (\$162,000). Amongst the inspectors of the society, next to Wallmann, Fabri has become the best known. Of its missionaries, Hugo Hahn, the founder of the Herero Mission; Nommensen, the father of the mission to the Bataks (despite the sending of Van Asselt to Sumatra in the Fifties by an Amsterdam Women's Association), and Dr. E. Faber, the Chinese missionary, who latterly entered the service of the

General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Society, deserve to be specially mentioned. In the history of its missionary life at home the "Pietist-General" Volkening of Minden-Ravensberg occupies the most important place. As in Basel, so in Barmen, the ecclesiastical circumstances of the home church have led to the society being divested of an expressly confessional character, and by wise compromise it has up till now succeeded in keeping the Lutheran and Reformed parties in peaceable confederation. Organ: *Berichte der rheinischen Missions-Gesellschaft*.

91. The confessional question presented greater difficulties to the North German (Bremen) Missionary Society than to the Rhenish. In 1836 seven North German missionary associations, amongst them that of Bremen, constituted themselves in Hamburg as the North German Missionary Society. To that society from time to time 39 other societies attached themselves, extending from East Frisia, where since 1802 a "Mission Society of the Mustard Seed" had been established at the instigation of the Church of the Brethren and the London Missionary Society, to the Russian provinces on the Baltic. In 1837 a missionary school came to life in Hamburg. In 1842 the first missionaries were sent out to New Zealand; in 1843 a short-lived mission to India was founded, and in 1847 a further mission amongst the Evhes in West Africa. Increasing confessional friction, however, hindered a prosperous development at home. A large section of the society separated from it to join the Lutheran Leipsic Missionary Society, another to unite with that of Herrmannsburg, founded later by Harms. The management of the mission was transferred to Bremen, where Mallet and Vietor were its chief promoters, and since then dissension has ceased. The society has no missionary school of its own, but draws its missionaries from Basel, with which it occupies the same ecclesiastical position, allowing them to be educated at the seminary there. Its only mission field at present is West Africa, where painful sacrifices are continually required by the deadly climate, to which almost the half of the labourers succumb, often after a short time. It has lost 65 men and women by death. These losses involve great interruption in the continuity of the work, especially as the little society has only a small number of missionaries at its disposal (at present 19). The total number of Evhe Christians approaches 2400, that of scholars is about 1000, the income about £6500 (\$31,200). Organ: *Monatsblatt der Norddeutschen Missions-Gesellschaft*.

92. Confessional reasons led to the founding in 1836 of the Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society at Dresden (later in Leipsic). Already since 1819 a missionary society existed in

Dresden which had been formed in connection with Basel. But just in proportion as the Lutheran confessional consciousness awoke to stronger life in Saxony, the cooler became the relations with Basel, although there it had already been declared that pupils from Saxony would be ordained according to Lutheran ritual. Hence in 1832 a preparatory missionary school was first opened, then in 1836 a regular missionary seminary and an independent evangelical Lutheran missionary society was constituted. It was first, however, through Graul, who was appointed director in 1844, that this society received its peculiar impress. He was as resolute an ecclesiastic as he was a thoroughly equipped theologian, as diligent an investigator of missions as he was sober in his theories of missions, and a man of energetic character. He aimed at nothing less than to make the Dresden Society the centre of the missionary work of the whole Lutheran Church; that work was to be carried on in accordance with its confession. In this, however, he only partially succeeded. Besides Saxony, Bavaria, Mecklenburg, Hannover, the Russian provinces on the Baltic, and the Old Lutheran Church of Prussia formed the principal constituency of the society. Soon after entering on his directorate, Graul issued a vigorous pamphlet, *The Evangelical Lutheran Mission of Dresden to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in all Lands. A Plain Statement and an Urgent Admonition. Forwards or Backwards*. With the clearness of a conscious aim he went on his way. He first divested the local society of Dresden of its dominant influence, then he carried through the transference of the Mission Institute to Leipsic in 1848; he also secured the decision that only theologians of university training should be sent out, a principle which, it is true, had later to be abandoned; lastly, he made a journey of visitation to India extending over some years (1849-1853). He had a thorough knowledge of Tamulese, entered with loving sympathy into the intellectual life of the people, and interpreted its literary productions with poetic power (*Bibliotheca Tamulica*). By his criticism of missions also, albeit often somewhat harsh, he has gained for himself not a little merit in connection with the writing of missionary history.

After attempting some mission work in South Australia and amongst the North American Indians, which proved only temporary, the Leipsic Society entered in 1840 upon the inheritance of the old Danish-Halle Mission among the Tamuls, so far as that had not already been occupied by the English. After much friction and disputing, both at home and abroad, over the question of caste, in regard to which perhaps an attitude of too gentle tolerance was adopted, the work entered

on a fruitful career. Up till 1892 the society confined itself to its Indian mission field among the Tamuls. Then it took over the Wakamba Mission in East Africa, which had been founded by a Bavarian society, and soon afterwards opened quite a new mission on German territory in Kilimandscharo. It has to-day altogether 47 missionaries in its service, 20,000 baptized Christians, 7500 scholars, and an income of £25,000 (\$120,000). Organ: *Evangelisch-lutherisches Missionsblatt*.

93. The year 1836 was fruitful in the foundation of new missionary societies in Germany. In that year Gossner left the committee of the Berlin South African Society, as he was opposed to the increasing emphasis which was set on the confessional element, also to the purchase of a mission-house, and further, to the growing insistence on the scientific education of missionaries. He was also of opinion that, after the example of Paul, the missionaries of to-day should share the care for their maintenance by working with their own hands, a principle which, amongst his missionary ideas, was the first to prove untenable. Accordingly, although an old man of 63, he began a mission of his own, in which he privately prepared young artisans, who were directed to him, for missionary service, confining himself to their instruction in Scripture and the deeper grounding of their personal piety. In the course of the first ten years Gossner sent out no fewer than 80 missionaries to Australia, British and Dutch India, North America, and West Africa, many of whom passed into the service of other missionary societies. He himself was all in all: "Inspector, House-father, Secretary, and Pack-ass," as he was wont humorously to say, and "rang the prayer bell rather than the begging bell." After joining with the kin-souled Dutchman Heldring, he sent in the second ten years 25 workers to the Indian Archipelago, and 33 to the fields which he had himself entered earlier, especially to India on the Ganges, and to the Kols. On his death in 1858 the management was put into the hands of a Board of Administration, an inspector was appointed, and one after another his peculiar ideas were abandoned, so that to-day the Gossner Mission is entirely without the characteristic features which distinguished it at its origin. At present the Gossner Missionary Society (Berlin II.), which unfortunately publishes no annual report, works only the mission on the Ganges and the more particularly successful mission to the Kols. It has 41 missionaries, about 46,500 Christians, 17,000 catechumens, and an income of about £10,500 (\$50,400). Organ: *Die Biene auf dem Missionsfelde*.

94. The Hermannsburg Mission, like the Gossner, owes its origin and its impress to the earnest faith and the originality

of a singular man, Ludwig Harms, the popular pastor of the village congregation, which underwent a revival through his ministry, at Hermannsburg, in Lüneburg Moor. He had early entered into connection with the North German Missionary Society, which would gladly have appointed him as teacher in its missionary school. Two things, however, gradually and increasingly loosened that bond: the strong Lutheran confessional tendency which mastered the whole spiritual life of Harms, and a kind of mediæval missionary ideal that the Christianising of nations could be accomplished most safely and most economically by sending out whole missionary colonies. When a number of young sons of the peasantry offered themselves to him for missionary service, and when the confessional friends of missions directly invited him to open a Lutheran mission institute, he began operations in 1849, and after four years' tuition sent his first twelve pupils, accompanied by eight colonists, on a missionary vessel of their own, to East Africa, where, however, they had to settle in Natal instead of amongst the Gallas. Every four years, and latterly, after the building of a second mission-house, every two years, large numbers continued to be sent out, and that not merely to South-East Africa, but also to India, Australia, and New Zealand. The colonisation ideas have long ago been abandoned as impracticable, and the first missionary ship has not been replaced by a second. A serious crisis befel the mission by the separation of the Hermannsburg congregation (from the State church), caused by Theodore Harms in the beginning of the Seventies. But the crisis was overcome without any real injury to the mission, inasmuch as, after the death of Th. Harms, judicious mutual advances led to a friendly compromise with the provincial church of Hannover. Only a few missionaries and congregations in South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand did not fall in with that compromise. The former joined the Evangelical Lutheran Free Church of Hannover, which seceded from the separated Hermannsburgers. This ecclesiastical body, with a membership of only about 3000, contributes £1000 (\$4800) annually for the South African Mission among the Bechuanas and the Zulus. The Hermannsburg Australian Mission was taken over by the Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel Synod in Australia; the New Zealand Mission appears to have been entirely given up. Thus at present there are Hermannsburg Missions only in South Africa and India, with in all 62 missionaries and 50,000 baptized native Christians, of whom the largest proportion (40,000) belongs to the particularly successful Bechuana Mission. The entire income amounts to £20,500 (\$98,400). Organ: *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt*.

95. Thus within thirty years (apart from the Church of the Brethren) seven German missionary societies, with capabilities of growth, took their rise. In the little circles of Pietism, in which they all had their origin, there must have lain a mighty power of life, in that they were able to set such enterprises in operation. The energy of this young missionary life certainly had the benefit of the reaction, which, since the time of Schleiermacher, had taken place in theology, and gradually in the church also, in the overcoming of rationalism, in room of which came, along with a theological science quickened from Scriptural sources, a church life inspired by the old faith in the Bible, and which felt a need of practical work. This reaction did not indeed, in the first instance, influence public opinion in favour of the derided missionary efforts, but it began to alter the attitude of the official representatives of the church, so that from being opponents of missions they at length began to become their supporters, a change which very much facilitated the beginnings of home mission work. And it was time for that change, so that both missions and the church might be saved from harm,—missions, in that they might not, through living in a conventicle atmosphere, contract a measure of sickly narrow-heartedness, perhaps a separatist character; the church, in that it might not, by hardening itself against one of its life-tasks, rob itself of an enriching blessing.

In the first instance the young missionary life of Germany concentrated and consolidated itself round the eight missionary societies which have been named. Gradually each organised for itself a constituency, which formed for it the missionary church at home; missionary associations and mission festivals multiplied; missionary views became clearer, and the societies themselves grew stronger. It was well that for almost twenty years there was a pause in the founding of new societies, and it is still open to doubt if the new societies formed after that interval were a real necessity, and have contributed more of blessing to missions than if the existing older societies, which had gradually acquired a rich experience through their labours, had been enlarged so as to take into their hands the new tasks.

96. In 1842 the Berlin Ladies' Association for the Christian Education of Women in the East was instituted (*Frauen-Verein für christliche Bildung des weiblichen Geschlechts im Morgenlande*); in 1850, through the influence of Gutzlaff, the Berlin Ladies' Association for China (*Frauen-Verein für China*); in 1852 the Jerusalem Association (*Jerusalem-Verein*). All three, however, do very limited work: the first, by the agency of unmarried teachers (at present nine), whom it sends to India

in connection with the missions of the Church of England; the second, by means of a foundling hospital, which it maintains in Hong-Kong; the third, by means of evangelistic and educational labours, which, along with a benevolent care for evangelical Germans in Palestine, it carries on at six stations with four missionaries, among the corrupt Oriental Christians (400 evangelicals), with increasing support from home circles since the visit of the German Emperor. Income, £5500 (\$26,400). Organs: *Missions-Blatt des Frauen-Vereins für Bildung*, etc.; *Mitteilungen des Berliner Frauen-Vereins für China*; *Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Morgenlande*. In loose connection with the Berlin Ladies' Association there was formed some years ago a "German Mission for the Blind among the Women of China," with its seat at Hildesheim, which supports one female missionary.

97. Two somewhat larger new missionary societies were founded in 1877 and 1882,—the Schleswig-Holstein, which has its centre in Breklum; and the Neukirchen, in Neukirchen, near Mösr, in the Rhine province. Both of these owe their foundation to the personal incitement of two men, Pastors Jensen and Doll. The former was prompted by a territorial motive, namely, the wish to have a mission institute in the province. With Doll the founding of the society was in the first instance the issue of a vow made during a severe illness, but along with this there was in play the inclination to have in Germany an institution representing the standpoint of the so-called Faith Mission, which should furnish a working centre for circles of free church tendency in Rhineland and Westphalia; but over against the English-American Faith Missions the attitude of the Neukirchen society has become more and more one of missionary sobriety. The Schleswig-Holstein Missionary Society has an income of £7350 (\$35,280), and at present maintains 12 missionaries in India (Telegu and Jaipur, 1100 native Christians). The Neukirchen Society contributes for missionary purposes £4600 (\$22,000), and has 17 missionaries in Java and British East Africa (about 1000 Christians). Organs: *Schleswig-Holstein Missionsblatt* and *Der Missions- und Heidenbote*.

98. In 1884, on the initiative of Buss, from Switzerland, there was founded the Allgemeiner ev. prot. Missionsverein (General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Society), which has its seat in Berlin. This society, which seeks to labour exclusively among civilised peoples, and principally among their upper classes, and that according to a new and magnificently planned missionary method, which lays special stress upon literary work and scientific instruction, differs from the rest of missionary societies by its liberal theological standpoint, albeit maintaining a peacefully tolerant attitude towards

the "Pietistic" missions of the old order. Up till now its influence at home and its success abroad have been little. Since the death of its most eminent worker, Dr. Faber, who passed into its service in 1885, from the Rhenish Mission, it has in its service 7 missionaries in Japan and in China, and only in the former a small number of baptized Christians. Its income is about £3750 (\$18,000). In any case it is a welcome proof of the strength of the missionary spirit which presently prevails, that even Liberal Protestantism has been infected by it, and has passed from criticism of missions to missionary work. Missionary experience must supply the evidence of what success its missionary principles have. Some modification of these has already been brought about by practice. Organ: *Zeitschrift für Missions-kunde und Religionswissenschaft* (Z. M. R.).

99. A fresh impulse to the founding of missionary societies has been given in the era of German colonisation since 1885. In the first storm-and-stress period of that era some fanatical advocates of the colonial policy, who had no understanding of missionary work and no interest in missions other than that of a national and commercial egoism, went so far as to demand that German Protestantism should, in order to serve the Fatherland, abandon all its former missions and concentrate its whole missionary strength upon the German colonies. Even in certain circles friendly to missions men lost their heads, and in rash excess of zeal entered into perilous alliances. It was only by degrees that missionary sobriety gained the upper hand, but not before some new societies had been founded. The Lutheran Bavarian Missionary Society (Pastor Ittamaier), it is true, united afterwards with the Leipsic Mission; but the Berlin Evangelical Missionary Society for East Africa (Berliner Evang. M.-G. für Ostafrika), founded by Pastor Diestelkamp in 1886 (Berlin III.), fought its way through all critical stages, and, after its connection with von Bodelschwingh, came gradually into regular and sound methods of procedure. Its two main centres are in the districts of Usaramo and Usambara. At present it has 20 missionaries (all theologians), and an income of £5250 (\$25,200). Its success is now exhibiting a happy increase (468 baptized). Organ: *Nachrichten aus der ostafrik. Mission*.

100. After a clearer understanding of the situation had been brought about, the older societies began extensive mission work in the German colonies. The Rhenish and North German Missionary Societies were already labouring in such colonies (German South-West Africa and Togoland), and needed only to expand their labour. But entirely new missions were undertaken in Cameroon (Basel), in German

East Africa (Berlin I., the Moravians, and Leipsic), in Kaiser Wilhelm's Land (Neuendettelsau and Barmen); Neukirchen, which had occupied Witu, was driven by unexpected adjustments of colonial policy into the English sphere of influence. The Neuendettelsau Society for Home and Foreign Missions, a society adhering to the Lutheran Church, did not first come to life through the German colonial movement. As early as the Forties it had done missionary work, in association with Lutheran immigrants, among the Indians in America, and from 1885 among the Papuas of Australia, in association with the Immanuel Synod; but the mission begun in Kaiser Wilhelm's Land in 1885 was its first independent enterprise. It now supports 12 missionaries at a cost of £4000 (\$19,200). Organ: *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nordamerika, Australien, und Neuguinea*. Thus in barely ten years all the German colonies were occupied by German evangelical missions, although not completely enough. It is beyond doubt that the colonial movement has quickened a new missionary movement in our Fatherland; only, it is still much to be desired that this missionary movement might take hold increasingly of such circles of the people as have hitherto kept aloof from missions.

101. Within the last decade there has set in a new missionary movement, which not only threatens to split German missionary life into fractional divisions, but also threatens the German missionary spirit with a grave inward peril. First of all, in the China Inland and Alliance Missions, which have established themselves in four branches separate from one another; further, in the Chrischona Mission already mentioned (with 5 agents); in the Kiel China Mission, from which, however, the China Inland Mission has severed itself, and which is now only a mere personal undertaking of Pastor Witt (with 2 missionaries and some young women); in the Hamburg Society, under Pastor Körper (with 1 missionary and 3 young women), and in the Barmen German Alliance Mission, under Polnick, a merchant (with 9 missionaries and 7 young women). To these there have to be added quite recently Mohammedan missions separated into three sections: the German Orient Mission under Dr. Lepsius, in connection with the Armenian relief-work; the so-called Soudan Pioneer Mission under Herr Kumm, a son-in-law of Grattan Guinness; and a mission to the Mohammedans, which has not yet received a name, under the Armenian Amirchanjan. All these new undertakings, which are in part indeed only in process of formation, and particularly those last named, seek to gain a constituency in the so-called Fellowship circles. With the

exception of the Lepsius Society, they are imported from without, and it will be difficult for them to strike root in German soil. The fractional division which they occasion is lamentable. Finally, there is to be noted a missionary society of the German Baptists in Berlin, which has five missionaries labouring in the Cameroons, and a branch society of the German Methodists, which aids the Methodist Mission in Togo and in the Bismarek Archipelago by sending out some German missionaries.¹

With a view to the fostering of missionary life at home, there have been instituted, since the end of the Seventies, a series of (now 18) Provincial Missionary Conferences, whose task consists principally in introducing the mission-workers at home, foremost among them the pastors, into the knowledge and understanding of missions, as well as into practical work for them in the congregations. The most of these conferences are meeting-points for the friends of the different missionary societies, and in this way the nurseries of an ecumenical missionary sentiment.

102. If we survey the entire service which Germany, including Switzerland so far as connected with Basel, renders to foreign missions, it stands—by no means in respect of the sterling quality of its work, but in regard to the number of its missionaries and the amount of its income—far behind that of England and America. It has, however, taken a welcome upward movement. In the course of the last ten years the number of German missionaries has increased by more than 250, that of native Christians under their care by almost 200,000, and the income by about £75,000 (\$360,000). Total number of German missionaries, 880; of baptized native Christians, 380,000, or, including catechumens, 423,000; and income about £250,000 (\$1,200,000). The German missions have in their service, exclusive of about 100 Kaiserswerth sisters labouring in the East, 96 unmarried lady missionaries; there are 9 medical missionaries.

SECTION 4. HOLLAND

103. In Holland, after the old Government Mission had fallen into complete decay, and there had actually come in its stead through the blindness of colonial politics an official patronage of Mohammedanism, a missionary society of the new order was founded earlier than in Germany. The political

¹ [All the undertakings referred to in this paragraph are discussed at length by Dr. Warneck in the first numbers of the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* for 1901.—Ed.]

conditions were as unfavourable as could be; at home, Holland was in vassalage to France, and its colonies were being taken from it by the English. In that time of humiliation God opened the ear of a little circle of devout preachers and laymen in Rotterdam to an address issued by the young London Missionary Society, so that, chiefly in consequence of the energetic instigation of Van der Kemp, then in his fiftieth year, they took courage to found the *Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschaft voorvoort planting en bevordering van het Christendom bijzonder onder de heidenen* (19th December 1797). This society was constituted quite on the model of the London M. S., except that from the beginning a certain connection was established with the Dutch Reformed Church. At first it did not seek to be more than an auxiliary of this society, in whose service Van der Kemp, Kicherer, and several other Dutchmen went to South Africa, where, indeed, the colonial government made life very unpleasant for them. In 1816 a mission seminary was opened in Berkel, which in 1821 was transferred to Rotterdam, and was made use of even by pupils of Jänecke and Basel. Even before the Dutch flag again waved in Batavia, Joseph Kam had gone to India in 1813 under an agreement with the colonial government, which paid his salary, and had been appointed in Amboina as preacher to the Dutch and Malay congregations. He found these congregations in a state of deplorable neglect. When he was sent out there was only one single Dutch preacher in the vast colonial empire. Kam exerted all his energy in the first instance to revive the old congregations, but he also did such diligent mission work among the heathen that he has been called the Apostle of the Moluccas. By degrees the Dutch Missionary Society extended its labours beyond the Moluccas to Timor, the South West Islands, the Celebes, Java (where Jellesma laid the basis of the prosperous work in Modjowarno), and Sumatra (Deli), with especial success in Minahassa, on Celebes, where one of Jänecke's missionaries, Joh. Friedr. Riedel, laboured with much blessing. The colonial government hampered the missions in every way, the democratic management at home left much to be desired, and as Broad Churchism became increasingly paramount in it the society declined. Many old friends forsook it; the income became inadequate, and even the mission field where the blessing had been greatest, that of Minahassa, which had become a completely Christianised land, had to be given over to the Dutch colonial church, which at present leaves it in charge of its curates. The old Dutch Missionary Society has to-day only somewhat over 12,400 Christians under its care, chiefly in Java and

Sawu, 11 missionaries, and an income of £8750 (\$42,000). Organ: *Maandberigt van het Ned. Z. G.*, partly also *Mededelingen van wege het Ned. Z. G.*

104. Up to the middle of this century the missionary activity of Holland was concentrated in the Nederl. Z. G. Then began a process of division, which continues down to the most recent times, and which has tended to weaken rather than to expand the missionary strength of Holland. First of all the Anabaptists, who since 1824 had been almost in the position of an auxiliary to the English Baptist Missionary Society, separated over the question of infant baptism, and in 1847 founded the Doopsgezinde Vereeniging tot bevordering der Evangelie-verbreiding in der Nederl. overseesche bezittingen. It has over 1500 communicants in Java and Sumatra. Of its few missionaries (at present 5), Jansz (senr.) is prominent as the translator of the Bible. Its income is about £3750 (\$18,000). Organ: *Jaarsverlag*.

In the same year, Heldring, who has rendered such signal service both to the home and foreign missions of Holland, instituted a new association which he called De Christen-Werkman, and which aimed at sending out plain artisans as colporteurs, catechists, evangelists, and also as teachers of trades and agriculture, who were to care for their own maintenance, —in this resembling the like-minded Gossner, with whom, indeed, he soon entered into alliance. But after fifty such persons had in the course of ten years been sent to different points of the Dutch Indies, their unfortunate experiences compelled the abandonment of the project. A new society came to life in 1855, called Het Java-Comité and formed the Nederl. afdeeling van het Genootschap van in-en nitwendige Zending te Batavia. At present it has 5 missionaries in Java and Sumatra, 630 native Christians, and an income of about £2000 (\$9600). Organ: *Geillustreerd Zend. Blad*.

Then in 1856 the pious separatist, Pastor Witteveen, at Ermelo, founded a church mission, which, however, flourished for but a little while. Of its missionaries in Sumatra and Java, some entered the service of the Rhenish Society, some into that of the Salatiga Mission in connection with the Neukirchen Society, some into the Ver. tot nitbreiding van het evangelie in Egypte. The Ermelo church, which has split into two separate camps, now carries on only a small independent mission in the west of Java, and practically confines itself to being a recruiting agency for the Salatiga Mission.

Towards the close of the Fifties the opposition to the modern "liberal tendency" of the Ned. Zend. Gen. became ever stronger. Not only strict orthodox men of the Calvinist

order (Groen van Prinsterer, da Costa, Cappadose), but also men of the old Pietist faith (Heldring, Oesterzee, van Rhijn), and even the Moderate school of Groening (Hofstede, Grotius), charged the directorate of this old society with a departure from the fundamental truths of the Bible, above all from faith in the Divinity of Jesus, and as they received only unsatisfactory answers, separation followed, a portion of the contributions for missions having for some time previously been sent to Paris, Barmen, and Hermannsburg. Unhappily this separation was not followed by united action, but by the founding of three new missionary societies: the Nederl. Zend. Vereeniging (1858), the Utrechtsche Zend. Ver. (1859), and the Nederl. Gereformeerde Zend. Ver. (1859). It would be going too far afield to detail the slight differences of these societies. Up till now none of them has succeeded in surpassing the old Ned. Z. G., which, moreover, is again inclining to soundness of faith. The Nederl. Z. V., whose seat is also in Rotterdam, labours with 10 missionaries in West Java (1600 Christians), and has an income of about £4000 (\$19,200). Organ: *Orgaan der Ned. Z. V.* The Utrechtsche Z. V. maintains 14 missionaries in Dutch New Guinea (van Hasselt), Almaheira, and Buru, has in all 4000 Christians, and an income of nearly £4250 (\$20,400). Organ: *Berichten van de Utr. Z. V.* The Gereformeerde Z. V., now the Gereformeerde Kerken-Mission, works in Mid-Java with only 5 missionaries, and has about 5000 native Christians. It has great plans in its mind, to which unhappily its means are not proportionate. Up till the present its income reaches only about £1500 (\$7200). Organ: *De Heidenbode*.

In 1872, Schuurmann founded a Central Committee voor oprichting en instandhouding van een seminarie nabij Batavia (in Depok), the aim of which was the training of native helpers for the whole Archipelago, and which has also given the impulse to the institution of general missionary conferences in Holland. Finally, in 1882, the few Lutherans in Holland have founded a society of their own, the Nederl. Luthersch Genootschap voor in- en nitwendige Zending. It maintains two missionaries near Nias on the Balu Islands, and has an income of about £500 (\$2400).

105. Including the Committee for the Sangi and Talaut Islands, which cares only for the travelling expenses and equipment of the missionaries there, and the auxiliary societies for the Moravian and Rhenish Missions, Holland contributes annually for missions about £30,000 (\$144,000), and supplies about 60 missionaries.

Besides the missions of these independent societies, how-

ever, the church in Holland does a work not merely in providing for the spiritual needs of the European congregations in its colonies, but extending also to the native Christians in the Dutch Indies. The clergymen are in the service of the "Protestant Church in the Dutch East Indies," and are described as preachers (36) and curates (26). To the latter, many of whom were formerly missionaries, is assigned the pastoral charge of the inland, so-called settled, congregations, from which they are able also to do mission work. In reviewing the missions in the Indian Archipelago, we shall return to these relations.

SECTION 5. FRANCE AND FRENCH SWITZERLAND

106. The religious revival which quickened missionary life in England, Germany, and Scotland, laid hold also of the Protestants of France, whose numbers were greatly diminished, and who had become languid under the indifference of the age more than during the long period of persecution. The new awakened faith urged to activity. All manner of Christian associations were formed, and soon, as the result of the special information concerning missionary societies in foreign countries which was afforded by the Archives du Christianisem established in 1818, as also by a pamphlet that appeared in Geneva in 1821 (*Exposé de l'état actuel des missions évangéliques chez les peuples infidèles tel qu'on le connaissait au commencement de l'année 1820*), the idea of founding a distinctively French missionary society was so keenly agitated, that in 1824 the Société des Missions Evangeliques came to life in Paris. The intention at first was merely to found a society for collecting funds which should support by its contributions societies that sent out missionaries. As early as 1825, however, a mission house of their own was opened, and after an independent field of mission work had been occupied among the Basutos in 1829, missionary life in France took a most gratifying upward leap. It is true that under the pressure of political disturbance it has repeatedly passed through severe crises, but these have been always happily overcome and have even fallen out unto the furtherance of the work. Even when the free church of the Vaudois withdrew its support from Paris because of having founded a mission of its own, the loss in contributions was covered by the French Protestants. The prosperous Basuto Mission, in which C. Casalis, Arbousset, and Mabille were eminent, and the Zambesi Mission, began as an offshoot from that by the intrepid Coillard, did not remain the only spheres

of the society's labours. Besides Senegambia, where up till now no real progress has been made, the society was forced by the intolerance of the French colonial policy, which suffered no evangelical missionaries other than French in its colonies, to take over in 1865 the Society Islands (Tahiti), which had already been almost Christianised through the work of the London Missionary Society. In 1887 the Missionary Society of Paris had to take the place, at least in part, of the American Presbyterians in Gaboon, and also found itself constrained to begin a new mission in French territory on the Congo. Now there is laid upon her a new and great task in Madagascar, where it has recently had to take over a large part of the work hitherto done by the London M. S. That is almost too much for the Protestants of France, who number scarcely 650,000, and a large percentage of whom have been till now rather indifferent to missions. But with each task has come the strength. In 1898 the income of the society (including foreign contributions, mainly from Alsace) reached in round figures £40,000 (\$192,000), and there were 60 missionaries in its service,—a creditable performance in view of the smallness of the missionary church at home. The native communicants in South Africa and the South Seas—statistics from the other fields are wanting—number more than 15,500, and more than 8000 catechumens. Organ: *Journal des missions évangéliques*.

107. An independent mission was founded in French Switzerland in 1874. For a long time Christians there had been satisfied with supporting the societies of Basel and Paris, not only by money contributions, but also by furnishing missionaries. The Vaudois free church, which arose after many struggles in the middle of the Forties, began that new mission by itself alone; but in 1879 the free churches of Geneva and Neuchatel joined with it to form the Mission des églises libres de la Suisse Romande (Miss. Romande). Their united field of labour was North Transvaal and the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Delagoa Bay. At present over 1200 baptized Christians have been gathered into eight congregations. The society maintains 18 missionaries. Its income is over £7500 (\$36,000), a notable contribution from the members of these free churches, which have only about 8000 adult members. Organ: *Bulletin missionnaire des églises, etc.*

SECTION 6. SCANDINAVIA

108. **Denmark.**—In spite of the missions to India having been sent out from Denmark, there was almost no missionary

life in the country. The main reason of this was that these missions were in the hands of a Royal Corporation, which included among its numbers men who declared that a heathen who changed his religion was to be despised. The mission to Greenland had made but poor progress; for which its connection with the State and Trading Society were alike chiefly to blame. Even the founding of a free society, der Danske Miss. Selskab, by the earnest Pastor Rønne in 1821, did not at once develop a fresh missionary activity. That society interested itself in the old mission in Greenland, and after much conflict with the Government officials it gradually secured the sending out of more capable clergymen, and the taking of active steps for the training of suitable native helpers. In 1827 the society formed an alliance with Basel, which led to the sending of some Danish missionaries to the field on the Gold Coast already occupied by the Basel society, and at that time still under the Danish Crown, but not to the founding of an independent mission of the D. M. S. Various other efforts came to nought; then followed the Grundvig agitation, whose influence was adverse to missions; and so it was not until 1862 that the society built a mission-school of its own, and in connection with the missionary Ochs who had severed himself from the Leipsic Society on the caste-question, began a mission of its own in Tamil-land, which is, however, until now not of great importance (11 missionaries and about 1650 baptized Christians). Since 1896 the society has also carried on a mission in Northern China (Port Arthur) with 7 workers. Income, £8500 (\$40,800). Organ: *Dansk Mission Blad*. A Danish Evangelical Association for China is affiliated with the society, and a special committee supports the Indian Home Mission to the Santhals founded by Börresen the Danish missionary, and Skrefsrud the Norwegian, which has from all Scandinavia 10 missionaries in its service, and gathers about £4000 (\$19,200). The so-called Löventhals Mission is insignificant (2 missionaries); it was a small mission among the Karens begun in 1884, which has since been given up. The entire missionary contributions of Denmark amount to about £10,000 (\$48,000).

109. **Norway.**—In Norway, which up to 1814 belonged politically to Denmark, the first missionary society sending out missionaries (Norske Missions Selskab) was founded in 1842 in Stavanger, where it still has its headquarters. It is, like the Danish, Lutheran, but with a democratic constitution, which permits of a lively interest in the missionary management on the part of the many (nearly 900) associations closely linked with it as branches. After many fruitless endeavours,

its first missionary, Schreuder, obtained a firm footing among the Zulus in Natal, and in 1865 the society began its prosperous work in Madagascar. Schreuder quitted its service in 1873, choosing to be an agent of the Norwegian Church rather than of a democratically governed society. The separation, however, although maintained after the death of Schreuder in 1882, has met with little support (5 missionaries, and income about £500, \$2400), nor up till to-day has any real Church mission been the result. As the home organisation of the Norwegian Missionary Society is popular, so also is its mission work solid. Progress among the Zulus has been slow owing to many disturbances from war; it was rapid in Madagascar until the French occupation, and has since proceeded without any material disturbance. Its baptized Christians in Madagascar number about 55,000, and among the Zulus, 2000; its missionaries on both fields about 50, and its income is about £30,000 (\$144,000). Organ: *Norsk Missionstidende*.

This leading society is still the centre of the missionary activity of Norway, although it has not remained the only missionary institution in the country. A free church tendency, moving on the lines of the Alliance Mission, has begun to influence missionary life in Norway, which had been the case long before this, and on a more extensive scale, in Sweden. This tendency has called various societies into life since 1889,—two China missions and a free Norwegian mission for East Africa,—which work in part independently and in part in connection with the China Inland and the Alliance missions, but even when independently quite in the spirit of these societies. Their work is steadily growing. To the new missions of this modern tendency there was added in 1891 a Norwegian Lutheran Missionary Society, which has 6 missionaries and an income of £1750 (\$8400). It also aids the Indian Home Mission to the Santhals. The entire contributions of Norway for missions to the heathen may amount to about £45,000 (\$216,000).

110. **Sweden.**—The missionary organisation of Sweden, which is completely mixed up with its confused ecclesiastical divisions, is altogether independent of that of Norway. The first Swedish missionary society (*Svenska Missions Sällskapet*), which, however, confined itself to some educational work among the Lapps, and to supporting other foreign missionary societies, was founded in Stockholm in 1835. In 1855 it united with the missionary society at Lund, founded in 1845, which was practically auxiliary to the Leipsic Tamil Mission, into the service of which some Swedes had entered. But in Lutheran circles of a more Pietistic tendency there arose some disagree-

ment with the churchly tendency of the Swedish Missionary Society, and also a desire for an independent Swedish mission. In consequence of this, the Evangelical Society of the Fatherland (Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen), which had been established for home mission work in 1856, was in 1861 broadened into a society for foreign missions also, opened a mission seminary of its own, began a mission of its own in East Africa (on the border of Abyssinia), and later in India (among the Gonds), the former at the cost of great sacrifices, both with but as yet little success; the latter with over 1000 church members. Its missionaries are 34. Its income is about £12,500 (\$60,000). Organ: *Missionstidning*.

Meanwhile a current of missionary sentiment adverse to missionary societies, which had for long existed in the State church of Sweden, gained steadily in strength, and, in opposition to the divisive free church tendency, which was often keenly hostile to the State church, sought an incorporation of missionary activity into the official church organisation. After long negotiations, the statute framed in behoof of the church received royal sanction in 1874, and a "Missionary Directorate of the Swedish Church" was instituted. To this the older Swedish Missionary Society joined itself in 1876, but not the Society of the Fatherland, so that unity in the missionary organisation of Sweden was not attained. This mission of the Swedish Church, the income of which has recently grown to about £5000 (\$24,000), maintains 23 missionaries, partly in connection with the Leipzig Missionary Society, partly in Zulu and Matabele lands. Organ: *Missionstidning under inseeende af Svenska Kyrkans Missionsstyrelse*.

Since the end of the Seventies, however, the free church movement has taken hold of the missionary life of Sweden much more powerfully than has the movement connecting it with the church. There was first a genuine Swedish movement in connection with the Waldenström movement, and then one introduced from England and America, which adopted the missionary principles of the China Inland and Alliance Missions. Both are akin in spirit. The former had for long been a home mission power in the country, not indeed in the German sense of the term, but as evangelistic activity awakening religious life. The many friends of this movement, who while remaining in the church maintained a thoroughly independent position, urged the Fatherland Society to send out as missionaries men who did not hold themselves bound by the Lutheran confession, and when their request was declined founded in 1878 the Swedish Mission Union (Svenska Missionsförbundet), which within a short time won a large following (at present over 900

associations). Its mission fields are on the Congo, in Algeria, Ural, Asia Minor, or rather Persia, China, and Chinese Turkistan; Alaska has been handed over to the Swedish Mission Union in America. The number of its missionaries is about 50. Its annual income is about £12,500 (\$60,000). Organ: *Missionsförbundet*.

The missionary unions formed under English influence in the Eighties also quickly gained large numbers of adherents: (1) The Swedish Mission in China (*Svenska Missionen i Kina*), founded in 1887 by E. Folke, and labouring with 9 missionaries (exclusive of ladies) in connection with the China Inland Mission; its income being about £2250 (\$10,800). Organ: *Sannigsvittnet*. (2) The "Holiness Union," founded in 1885 by a millowner in Nerike (*Helgelseförbundet i Nerike*), which holds a yearly anniversary in Torp attended by thousands. It sends evangelists to China and Zululand (10 at present, excluding ladies), and has an income of nearly £1250 (\$6000). Organ: *Trons Segrar* (*Triumph of Faith*). (3) The Scandinavian Alliance Mission, called into life by Franson, which, like the Simpson Alliance Mission of America, has sent out within a very short time large numbers of mostly very young male and female evangelists to China, Japan, Himalaya, and Swaziland, more indeed than 130, of whom, however, the majority were not only without preparation, but also without fitness for the missionary calling. Characteristic is the declaration of one of their China missionaries: "Literary work—it is only tract literature which is in view—requires much time and hard labour, and meanwhile one is uncertain how far he should devote his time to this work, or whether the time is so short that it is best to employ the last days of this soon expiring age in purely evangelistic work." This society, however, has its headquarters in Chicago, and most of its workers are American Swedes. Its annual income reaches about £6000 (\$28,800). The Society for Home and Foreign Missions, founded in Jönköping in 1863, on lines similar to the Mission Union, and the Ostergothland Society in Linköping, are not societies which send out missionaries of their own. The total contribution of Sweden for missions to the heathen amounts to almost £50,000 (\$240,000), and the number of male missionaries to 150.

At the fifth North Lutheran Missionary Conference, held in Stockholm in 1897, the entire income of the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish Missionary Societies was stated as at present about £79,500 (\$381,600). The number of male and female Scandinavian missionaries (including the American) was returned as 526, only a third of whom, however, belong to

the confessional societies. The other two-thirds, a large percentage of whom are probably young ladies, belong mainly to the non-confessional missions, and are in the service of other than Scandinavian societies. The whole number of baptized native Christians under the care of the Scandinavian missions reaches 60,000.

111. **Finland.**—Of Scandinavian countries Finland was the last to enter the missionary movement. For a long time, indeed, contributions had been gathered in little circles for the Swedish Missionary Society. But in 1859, on the occasion of the 700th anniversary of the conversion of Finland to Christianity, the Finnish Lutheran Missionary Society was founded, with its headquarters at Helsingfors. It was not until 1870, however, that the society began an independent mission, on the advice of the Rhenish missionary Hugo Hahn, in Ovamboland, where its often changing missionaries only slowly effected a footing (at present about 800 baptized persons). It has to-day 6 missionaries, and an income in round figures of £6000 (\$28,000). Organ: *Missions Tidning för Finland*.

A small Finnish Free Church Mission has existed since 1891, in connection, as it seems, with the China Inland Mission, and in 1898 there has been founded a Finnish Alliance Mission for India.

SECTION 7. PROTESTANT COLONIES, ETC.

112. Moreover, in those colonies which have been increasingly occupied by European settlers, and in several mission fields in part already Christianised, quite an array of missionary societies has arisen. We note here only the most important of these.

In Australia the Wesleyans there maintain an extensive mission in Polynesia and the Bismarck Archipelago, the Presbyterians similarly on the New Hebrides; and these two bodies, along with the Church of England, the Baptists, and several Lutheran Synods in Australia itself, amongst the natives and also among the heathen immigrants. Altogether they support about 130 missionaries, have an income of more than £90,000 (\$240,000), and have about 60,000 communicants.

In India, besides a great number of Bible, tract, colportage, zenana societies and the like, there are several independent missionary societies proper, of which the most prominent is the Indian Home Mission to the Santhals already alluded to.

In South Africa 15 missionary associations and auxiliaries are working in the various African fields, some belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church, some to the Church of England,

some to the Wesleyans, some to the Baptists, some to the Congregationalists. These combined have almost 200 missionaries, with about 100,000 communicants, and an income of £40,000 (\$192,000).

Of mission fields, which from being the objects of missionary work have come to do that work, the West Indies stand at the head. There are 12 missionary societies engaged in home and foreign missionary work in the West Indies themselves, and latterly also at various points in Africa. (Including the independent mission provinces, they have about 100,000 communicants.) And the young church of Hawaii maintains, in connection with the American Board, a considerable mission in Micronesia, for which it contributes about £4000 (\$19,200).

It has finally to be noted that there are a number of so-called "free" missionaries who cannot be calculated. These stand in no relation to any organised missionary society at home, but choose each on his own account a field for evangelistic effort. These "free" missionaries, who form a kind of "franc-tireurs" in missionary service, exhibit the furthest extreme of Independentism, and the sacrifices made by and for them are out of all proportion to the results which they attain.

SECTION 8. REVIEW OF THE SITUATION

113. Owing to the multiplicity of this missionary apparatus and the incompleteness of statistics, it is impossible to state with absolute certainty the total number of evangelical missionaries and the sum-total of the missionary expenditure of all denominations of the Protestant church. Approximately, however, the former may be reckoned in round figures as 6300, about 5000 of whom are ordained; and the latter as from £2,750,000 to £3,000,000 (\$13,200,000 to \$14,800,000). Add to this that there are now almost 3600 unmarried women in missionary service,¹ and that some 700 qualified medical men and women are included among the number of missionaries,² and it must be confessed that in the course of the nineteenth century, especially in the last quarter of it, evangelical missions have made a magnificent advance and form a power

¹ Especially in America, partly, however, in England also, it is now the custom to pay even married ladies as missionaries. Although certainly many of these ladies render a direct and yet more an indirect valuable missionary service, still they can as little be designated missionaries as can the wives of pastors at home be designated pastors, or the wives of the apostles as apostles. They are helpers of their husbands, but not independent missionaries. To reckon them as such is to frame misleading mission statistics.

² Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, New York, 1899, vol. ii. 40, note 2 and 400.

to-day which can no longer be ignored as a mere sectional concern. We are now, in fact, in a missionary century, which, in respect at least of the extent of the mission field and of missionary instrumentality, surpasses every former century. The results are far beyond statistical returns. The civilising, intellectual, and moral effects which everywhere follow in the train of missionary work, and which touch wide circles beyond those who are gathered into Christian congregations, have more and more transformed public opinion at home, so that missions have begun to be spoken of with respect, even where the understanding of their religious task is absent. Especially has the modern colonial policy, often as it has been in conflict with missions, come to learn the value of the vast civilising service which they render to it, so that to-day no colonial power is any longer hostile to missions. Their political favour, indeed, is not without some measure of temptation to missions, since it is only too frequently associated with the demand that missions shall be made of service to its secular interests. Without exception, the official church has passed from antagonism to friendship towards missions.

114. The missionary duty of the church is generally acknowledged by its officers, its synods, and its clergymen, and that not merely in theory. The church in its official capacity has become an active co-worker. Indeed, it may be said that its office-bearers are its leaders in missionary endeavour. This fact has repeatedly suggested the idea of giving over the whole management of missionary enterprise to be matter of State church administration, but, with the exception of a single experiment of this kind in Sweden, the conviction has gradually become clearer that the carrying on of missions by free societies is of Divine leading, and is to be retained as a blessing both to missions and to the church; only, the sound reciprocal attitude between the free missionary societies and the official church must be wrought out into preciser form.¹ Even more and more distinct has been the recognition of the reflex influences upon the church at home, not only of practical obedience to the missionary command in general, but in particular of the method of carrying on missions by free societies, so that to the latter is due in great measure the transformation of the passive congregation into an active one. Most tardy of all has been the entrance of scientific theology into the

¹ [This necessity presses, of course, where the official church and the missionary societies are separate organisations, particularly when a State connection on the part of the church is an element in the case. But for those who hold that the church itself ought as such to be the missionary society, and who find their idea realised, as in Scotland and in many churches in America, the problem no longer exists.—ED.]

missionary movement. It has, indeed, never been signalised by animosity towards missions, but it has eminently ignored them; and so it has happened that through a very long period it has neither itself been enriched by them, nor has exercised on them an illumining influence. The impulses towards such reciprocal action have not issued from the universities. They have given us neither a scientific history of the missions of the present, nor—saving some essays of practically little use—a theory of missions. We have no scientific history of missions to this day. Towards a theory of missions the author of this sketch has been the first to offer an essay in his *Evangelische Missionslehre*. For the rest, missionary literature, both historical and instructional, has reached a significant development among all the nations and denominations of Protestantism, especially in England and Germany.¹ Moreover, the attitude of theology to missions is in process of change; scientific missionary workers are multiplying, and the universities are beginning to accord a place to the knowledge of missions.² And—what is specially gratifying—the number of men trained in theology who enter upon active missionary service is growing in Germany, after it has for long been increasing in England, and in America has always formed the majority.

Missionary seminaries, indeed, will probably long continue, perhaps must always continue. Apart from the advocates of the modern theories of evangelisation, all the older missionary societies have learned by experience that a genuine heart conversion is not the only pre-requisite for practical missionary service, but that a certain measure of general education and theological training, besides natural endowment, is indispensable, and accordingly they have applied ever increasing diligence to the thorough equipment of their missionaries.

115. In respect of missionary methods, while the principles still show a great divergence in a whole series of special questions, they have become more and more harmonious: only the most recent theory of evangelisation has introduced confusion into the conception of the task of missions and into the working of missions. From the beginning of modern missions all sections of Protestantism have been perfectly clear as to this, that a kingdom which is “not of this world” is not to be advanced by worldly means. Protestant missions differ most sharply from Roman Catholic, especially of the older time, in

¹ *Wegweiser durch das volkstümliche wie durch die wissenschaftliche und pastorale deutsche Missionsliteratur*, Berlin, 1896 u. 1898. Mott, *The Evangelization of the World in this Generation*, 207, Bibliography; *Ecumenical Missionary Conference*, New York, 1900, II. 435, Bibliography.

² Warneck, *Das Bürgerrecht der Mission im Organismus der theol. Wissenschaft*, Berlin, 1897.

that they bring only the spiritual means of the Word to bear on the conversion of the heathen. Hence they constrain their missionaries, as a matter of principle, to acquire the language of the people to whom they are sent, that they may be able to preach and teach in it. Everywhere missions are the mother of schools. At least 20,000 schools owe their existence to Protestant missions, and a million children are being instructed in these to-day. Everywhere the Bible has been translated into the language of the people. Bible translation is hurried rather than neglected. More than 300 translations of the Bible in whole or in part have been made by evangelical missionaries, and of these more than a half into languages hitherto entirely without literature. Upon these translations there have followed numerous literary works, spiritual and secular in their contents, by means of which the missions of the present day have rendered a vast educative service to heathen nations.¹ Complete agreement also obtains as to the necessity of making native Christian congregations self-sustaining, both by training native teachers and preachers and by educating them to financial self-support, although all missionary societies are not equally energetic in working out this principle, while some, notably the Independents, unduly hasten its realisation. As a general rule, the English, and especially the American missions, are in this matter far in advance of the German, and the missions of the free churches are in part far ahead of those of the State churches. In all there may be about 60,000 helpers of various kinds from among the natives, particularly school teachers, including in that number over 4000 ordained pastors. Industrial missions, too, *i.e.* such missions as combine with preaching and education a direct activity in civilisation, and aim especially at training the natives to labour, have been taken up in a great variety of ways. As to the value of these, however, opinions still differ. It has been already noticed that the sending out of physicians on missionary service is becoming ever more general. Up till now, Germany has taken little part in these medical missions, but the number of German medical missionaries is growing. Moreover, while England and America send out very many, perhaps too many, women for direct missionary service, we have as yet sent out but few.

116. It may be regretted that there is not greater unity in the organisation of evangelical missionary work, such as is in the Romish. The great variety of form characterising the Protestant church and the tendency to freedom characterising

¹ Warneck, *Modern Missions and Culture: their Mutual Relations*, translated by Thomas Smith, D.D., Edinburgh, 1883, p. 157 ff.

Protestantism assert themselves even in its missions. The dark sides are undeniable: friction between the missionaries of various denominations, stumbling-blocks to the heathen and difficulties in the subsequent formation of national native Christian churches. Albeit in the diversity there is also considerable gain. For not only has the profusion of missionary societies at home multiplied interest in missions, but also in this way a great variety of individual, national, and denominational gifts and powers has come to be employed in the mission field. And, notwithstanding much unseemly rivalry, the common missionary work has fostered the "ecumenical" conception within Protestantism, as, *e.g.*, the many general missionary conferences attest. The founding of new missionary societies to-day is certainly not desirable, were it only for this reason, that they lack the experience which the old societies possess. We have enough of societies. Tactical wisdom now demands that our growing missionary power be concentrated about these agencies, and especially about the older and larger of them. Instead of the founding of new missionary societies, the endeavour should much rather be towards the union of missionary societies. It is one of the disastrous phrases to which currency has been given by Dr. Pierson, the editor of the *Missionary Review of the World*, a man fertile in inventing rhetorical watchwords, "Not concentration but diffusion." We have diffusion more than enough. If it is carried still further upon principle, it must ultimately lead to the breaking up of evangelical missions into atoms. Separation is weakness, concentration is strength. Hence the watchword must be reversed and read, "Not division but organisation," and not merely expansion but also solid development.

[Additional note to p. 106.—In addition to the Societies named by Dr. Warneck, mention should also be made of the National Bible Society of Scotland. Of its income of over £30,000, nearly a fifth is expended on heathen lands. In China, in particular, it is doing a great work. Under 6 European agents there are upwards of 150 native colporteurs, who dispose annually of over 300,000 Bibles, Testaments, and Scripture portions. In India and in Japan it is also doing a considerable work.—ED.]

PART II

THE FIELD OF EVANGELICAL MISSIONS

PART II

THE FIELD OF EVANGELICAL MISSIONS

INTRODUCTION

117. OF the three missionary religions, Buddhism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, Christianity alone is in earnest, in theory and in practice, with its mission to the world. It is so in theory, for on the ground of its qualification for an universal religion it expressly defines as its field of expansion "all the nations," "the whole world," "the uttermost parts of the earth," "all men everywhere" (Matt. xxviii. 19, xxiv. 14, xxvi. 13; Mk. xiv. 9; Luke xxiv. 47; Acts i. 8, xvii. 30, 31). It is so in practice, for it is actually on the way towards gradually making the whole world its mission field. Gradually, we say, for God's method of education has in its wisdom distributed the Christianising of the world into different eras, by spreading the time of missions over the whole present age until the second coming of Jesus. The time of missions is divided into different periods, and each separate period has its mission field opened up, as well as bounded, by the leadings of the world's history. Apostolic and sub-apostolic missions were virtually limited to the countries of the Græco-Roman world around the Mediterranean; the missions of the Middle Ages were confined to the Germano-Slavonic nations, which at that time were beginning to step into the centre of history. The present missionary period is the first to be fully in earnest with the mission to the whole world. Its field far surpasses in extent those of the previous periods put together, for it stretches over all quarters of the globe. There are still, it is true, wide regions, especially in central Asia and Africa, not at all or very poorly occupied by Christian missions; but from decade to decade the field gains so much in extent, that without rhetorical exaggeration it may be said, "The field is the world."

118. The world-wide extent of the missions of to-day is a significant fact, even in an apologetic aspect. Eighteen hundred years after it was given, the command of Jesus becomes again such a vital force in Christendom that it gives rise to a mission to all nations. In face of a criticism that seeks to deny the authenticity of that command, God brings in a missionary century which translates it into deed. A more powerful irony upon negative criticism there could not be. At the end of the nineteenth century we are face to face with the fact of Christian world-missions, and the commission to which it owes its existence is declared never to have been given at all! The words of Jesus are proved true by the continuous working of their power. And if this working after nineteen hundred years still stirs Christendom into a world movement, we have therein a Divine criticism to which human criticism must lay down its arms. The words of Jesus may be pronounced dead, but cannot be made dead; they may be buried, but they rise again from the grave.

119. In close connection with the activity of the Holy Spirit in recalling the words of Jesus, there have gone, and are still going on, openings up of the non-Christian world, which on the human side were by no means designed to open the doors for the spread of Christianity, but which the world-ruling hand of God has made to serve the cause of missions; just as in the apostolic time the Jewish dispersion, the spread of the Greek language, the Roman world-dominion and commercial intercourse, were made to serve it. To-day it is specially geographical discoveries, the acquisition of colonial territory, and the world commerce, facilitated and increased to gigantic proportions by modern means of communication, that have led the missions of the present time along their paths, and have influenced the choice of the several parts of the mission-field. God led Christianity to understand the missionary significance of the opening up of the world, so that it not only became an impulse to obey the command "Go," but also showed her "Whither."

120. When modern missions began, there was no plan as to where a beginning should be made. The plan was made in heaven, and men followed it almost without knowing. Reflection came afterwards. The missionaries went where a way was open, where entrance was permitted them and receptivity showed itself. Often, especially at the outset, Christian colonies were chosen as mission fields. Often the end of a geographical achievement became the beginning of a missionary undertaking. Repeatedly political transactions,

agreements of peace or commercial treaties, have given the signal for beginning a mission.

The stage of civilisation of the people has had little influence on the selection of the mission fields. The Divine leadings guided to the cultured peoples as well as to the primitive peoples; and so it has come to pass that in reference to civilisation the missions of to-day embrace at the same time objects which had been separately assigned to the apostolic and the mediæval missions. Under the influence of these leadings, the part of the present mission field that falls to the primitive peoples has been more strongly occupied than that falling to the cultured peoples. In India, China, and Japan, there may be altogether about 2300 evangelical missionaries, for a population of over 700 million non-Christians; and, apart from their historical significance, this is a small proportion compared with the 4000 missionaries for the 180 millions of heathen in the lower and lowest grades of civilisation. But this distribution of workers is providential: the peoples poor in civilisation have shown themselves more accessible and more fruitful for missions than those rich in civilisation; they were also in danger of becoming a prey to the great compact religions, if their Christianisation were not hastened. In Japan, evangelical missions began immediately on the opening of the long-closed land. As soon as there is a similar change in China in its attitude towards the West, the number of the missionaries there will at once increase. A beginning has already been made. And when the old religions in India give way more, and especially when the resisting force of caste is more broken, mission work will there too gain an altogether different energy. Besides, in the civilised lands the number of workers does not need to be so great as among the uncivilised peoples, because in them it is easier to get capable and independent helpers from among the natives.

Up to the present the great Mohammedan world, especially that part of it which is under Mohammedan governments, has least of all been made the object of evangelical missions. Religious fanaticism, the volcanic character of which has been anew terribly demonstrated by the latest massacres of Christians in Armenia, keeps the Mohammedan world almost entirely closed to the Gospel of Christ; and it is an unwise excess of zeal to seek to force its opening before the time.

The mission field of to-day has come only very gradually to its present world-wide compass. The strengthening of the missionary spirit within Christendom and the progressive openings of the non-Christian world have in the course of a century gradually made it what it is. We cannot meanwhile

follow this process chronologically, because this method would make the survey of the mission field difficult, and would indeed confuse it by leading us, in constant change, to mission fields far removed from each other. We shall therefore follow the more practical course of arranging our survey of the gradual extension of evangelical missionary activity up to its present position¹ according to the geographical point of view.

¹ The original sources are the monthly and annual reports of the several missionary societies mentioned by name in the First Part. The references to these are omitted in the following survey, as they would have occupied too much space. The literature cited underneath the text substantially indicates the relative monographs.

Among works giving a survey of the whole mission field of the present, which are mentioned here once for all and are not further cited in the footnotes, the following should be mentioned:—(1) Wiggers, *Gesch. der evang. Mission*, Hamburg u. Gotha, 1845. Although antiquated, a solid work based on then existing sources. (2) Kalkar, *Gesch. der christl. Mission unter den Heiden*, Gütersloh, 1879. The only history of missions which treats also of Roman Catholic missions. A rich assemblage of matter, but critically little sifted, and also wanting in mastery and proportionate division of the matter. (3) Burkhardt-Grundemann, *Kleine* (4 vols.) *Miss.-Bibliothek*, 2nd edition, Bielefeld u. Leipzig, 1876–1881. And (4) as its completion, Grundemann, *Die Entw. der evang. Mission im letzten Jahrzehnt*, 2nd edition, Bielefeld u. Leipzig, 1890; a compendious compilation which also contains much geographical and ethnological matter, as well as matter connected with the history of religion and natural science. (5) Christlieb, *Der gegenwärtige Stand der evang. Heidenmission*, Gütersloh, 1880. And as its complement, (6) Vahl, *Der Stand der evang. Heidenmission in den Jahren 1845 und 1890*, Gütersloh, 1892. Good instructive surveys: that of Christlieb fresh and sappy, that of Vahl somewhat dry, but furnished with valuable statistical tables, which the well-informed Danish author continued in the purely statistical *Missions to the Heathen* which he published annually. His brief (151 pp.) *Laerebog i den evangeliske Missionshistorie*, published in Copenhagen in 1897, has not been translated into German. It is concise and trustworthy. (7) Zahn, *Der Acker ist die Welt: Blicke in das Arbeitsfeld der evang. Mission*, Gütersloh, 1888. Not so much history, as able expositions of the history of missions on the part of a competent judge of missions, but with much historical matter. (8) Gundert, *Die evang. Mission, ihre Länder, Völker, und Arbeiten*, 3 Aufl., Calw, 1894. The most trustworthy book of reference, presenting with great precision and almost without an omission all that deserves to be known regarding the fields of evangelical missions and the present state of missions. (9) Grundemann, *Kleine Missions-Geographie u. Statistik zur Darstellung des Standes der evang. Mission am Schlusse des 19 Jahrhunderts*, Calw u. Stuttgart, 1901. An admirable compact survey: unhappily, in the endeavour to make absolutely sure of not exceeding minimum numbers, the statistical statements in many fields are too low. The indispensable geographical complement is (10) Grundemann, *Neuer Missionsatlas*, Calw, 1896.

Out of English missionary literature the following works are to be named, which, however, as a whole are inferior to the German in thoroughness and trustworthiness:—(1) Brown, *The History of Christian Missions of the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, 3 vols., London, 1864. A compilation of material that is neither complete nor adequately sifted; more a chronicle than a history. (2) George Smith, *Short History of Christian Missions from Abraham and Paul to Carey, Livingstone, and Duff*, 5th edition, Edinburgh, 1897. Gives only a scanty survey, which besides is not without inaccuracies and rhetorical exaggerations. (3) Dennis, *Foreign Missions after a Century*, 3rd edition, New York, 1893. Neither a history of missions nor a survey of their present con-

dition, but a kind of philosophy of the history of missions, with many good thoughts, but not always free from rhetoric. (4) Graham, *The Missionary Expansion of the Reformed Churches*, Edinburgh, 1898. The best among short and popular English histories of missions, but including at the same time many errors, and exhibiting great gaps: in particular, the German missions are very scantily treated.

Finally, there must also be mentioned the *Evang. Missions-Magazin* (from 1816) and the *Allg. Missions-Zeitschrift* (from 1874), both of which may be described as encyclopædiæ of missions. Especially their "Look-rounds" (*Rundschaufen*) give current surveys of the progress of missionary work. The *Missionary Review of the World* (from 1888), published in New York, and often very rhetorical, is inferior to both these magazines, and is a source which must only be used with critical carefulness. The later years are, however, much more solid than the earlier. On the other hand, Bliss, in his voluminous *Encyclopædia of Missions* (2 vols. of over 1300 pp., New York, 1891), presents a mass of matter, not altogether free from gaps, but very rich and relatively reliable. The *Nederlandsch Zendingstijdschrift* (from 1889) and the *Nordisk Missionstidsskrift* (from 1890) furnish slighter gleanings for the general history of missions; the latter more than the former. [In view of the fact that the English missionary works mentioned in this Note are so mentioned in connection with the use made of them by the author, it would clearly be out of place to name others which might otherwise have been added to the list. An excellent bibliography will be found in the appendix to the second volume of the *Ecumenical Missionary Conference*, New York, 1900.—ED.]

CHAPTER I

AMERICA

SECTION 1. GREENLAND, LABRADOR, AND ALASKA

121. WE begin our survey with America. Greenland, the largest island in the world, quite four times as large as the German Empire, but inhabited almost exclusively on the indented west coast by a scanty population, was colonised from the eleventh to the fourteenth century by Norsemen from Iceland. Although the colonists were already Christians, and formed a bishopric of their own, they exercised no Christianising influence upon the native Eskimo. Since the fifteenth century the Norse colony has disappeared, probably wiped out by the ill-treated Eskimo, and only old ruins of churches testify that once Christianity was known. When, two and a half centuries later, the memory of the old settlers was revived in Scandinavia, and new attempts were made to enter into commercial relations with Greenland, the Norwegian pastor, Hans Egede, in the Lofoden Islands, was seized with a mighty impulse to care for the people of that land, who were treated with inhumanity by the sailors, and among whom he believed he could still detect some of the neglected posterity of the old Norsemen. With energetic persistency that brave man overcame all the obstacles that stood in his way, and at last, in 1721, obtained permission to begin a mission in Greenland from King Frederick iv. of Denmark, under whose rule Norway at that time was. Even a royal grant was guaranteed for its support. But the greatest difficulties accrued in Greenland itself—the inhospitable climate, frequent scarcity of food, the distrust and dulness of the natives, the enmity of their magicians, the unknown language so hard to learn, the coarse conduct of the Europeans in the service of the commercial company which was joined to the mission; and it required untold patience, amid all the discouragements which followed one after another, to continue during fifteen years to labour on this hard soil with unyielding faithfulness. When, in 1736,

Egede left Greenland, he had rendered the great service of making the first investigation of the language, and had gained some native helpers, but otherwise had attained little visible result, so that he preached his farewell sermon on the text, Isaiah xlix. 4. On his return home he conducted a seminary for the training of preachers for Greenland, and produced translations, while his son Paul continued his father's work among the Eskimo. Since then the Danish Mission in Greenland has held on its way, though much hindered by its association with trade and colonisation, and also by the Mission Bureau of the State, to which it was subject. Often incapable preachers were sent out, and even the better men remained as a rule but a short time. Since the Danish Missionary Society, at a later date, took up the work, there has been a great improvement. Especially has great attention been given to the education of native catechists, some of whom have even been ordained. There are thirteen Danish trading stations, divided into two inspectorates, a northern and a southern, and of these ten are also mission stations; and the whole population around them, numbering about 8200 souls, and consisting partly of half-breeds, has been long since Christianised. Since 1894 there has also been a Danish mission station among the people of East Greenland, who are still heathen (Angmagsalik).

122. Much better known than the Danish, although not so extensive, is the Moravian Mission in Greenland, which was begun in 1733 by Matthew Stach from Hernhut. It was connected with Copenhagen through Count Zinzendorf, and, like the Danish, was undertaken with the approval of the Danish king, but without dependence upon the State government. The beginning of this mission, too, was trying and difficult, and many things combined to discourage the Brethren. A proper understanding was never effected with Egede; the learning of the language caused the unschooled Moravian missionaries unspeakable trouble, and an imported epidemic of smallpox caused great mortality among the natives; and, in addition to the other adversities that were due to the wildness of the country, there came a famine, in consequence of imperfect provisioning from Copenhagen, during which the Greenlanders showed great hardness of heart. They wished to know nothing of the message which the Brethren brought with them; they scoffed at them, and even sought their life. In this way passed five years of fruitless labour, till John Beck experienced the joy of seeing the story of the sufferings of Jesus making for the first time an impression on their dull natures, and the well-known Kayarnack cried out with quivering voice: "How was that?—Tell it me once again. I too would be saved."

He was the first-fruits among the Greenlanders, and after long preparation the Brethren baptized him in 1739 along with his whole house; in spite of the persecution that arose at first, the ice was now broken. For twenty years the work centred mainly around the first station, New Herrnhut, and then four stations more were laid down one after another to the south of it, and a fifth was founded to the north-east and near to New Herrnhut. These stations have to-day over 1600 Eskimo Christians, often, it is true, widely separated from each other. Within their territory the work of Christianisation has long since been completed, so that the proper missionary activity has passed entirely into the pastoral. Only on the almost inaccessible east coast are there still isolated heathen Eskimo, some of whom are ever and again being baptized on the occasion of visits to the most southerly station of the Brethren. The New Testament and a large part of the Old have been translated into the Eskimo language, and the church life is well ordered. Although heathenism has been vanquished, the Christianity of the Eskimo is still very rudimentary, and with the majority full of shadows. Bright lights appear only occasionally. The missionary aim, the erection of an independent church of Greenland, which should support itself by its own means and be governed by a native pastorate, has not been attained either by the Danish or by the Moravian Mission, and will probably never be attained. The blame lies not merely in this, that from the beginning the work has been but little directed towards this end, but chiefly in the inhospitable conditions of the country, which by the anxiety they create about eking out the natural life by uncertain and poor earnings, hinder a higher development and exert a depressing influence on the character of the Eskimo, who are in any case intellectually poorly endowed. There are, indeed, some energetic native helpers, but they are not ripe for independent church leadership. At their General Synod in 1899, the Moravians handed over their work in Greenland to the Danish church, after receiving from that church an assurance that their congregations would be sufficiently provided for. They have done this because their missionary task in Greenland has been fulfilled, and in order that with the forces and means thus set free "they may be able to go forward upon new paths."¹

123. Similar to the conditions in Greenland are those in the still colder peninsula of Labrador, of which, indeed, only the outmost coast-line is inhabited by Eskimo, and likewise

¹ [The transfer has been happily accomplished, and the last of the Moravian missionaries quitted Greenland on 24th September 1900.—Ed.]

occupied by the mission. So early as 1752 the Moravians had attempted a settlement here, which came to nought through the murder of the missionary. The first station, Nain, was founded in 1771, and soon two others (Okak and Hopedale) were added. But it was in 1804 that, in consequence of a general awakening, the Gospel first found an extended entrance among the degraded population. Gradually three stations more were established; and to-day, of the population numbering only some 1500 souls, 1300 are Christians. These are cared for spiritually with great diligence and faithfulness, and their religious life stands higher than that of their Greenland compatriots. From long ago the mission here has been combined with trade. This is in the hands of a Moravian company in England, which for this purpose maintains a special ship, the *Harmony*.¹ This missionary trading has the advantage of guarding the natives from becoming the prey of unchristian traders, but it has also the bad result of making the careless Eskimo often very ill behaved towards their benefactors. The numerous American fishermen who live on the coast during the summer, and of whom many have settled on it, are also an object of the spiritual care of the Moravian missionaries, who are energetically supported in this work by the English Deep Sea Fishermen's Mission.

124. From Labrador we take a leap over to the great north-western peninsula of the North American continent, bounded by the Behring Straits, the now much-talked-of Alaska, because we find here again a considerable Eskimo population (15,000) and almost 2000 Aleutians, with a strong admixture of Indians (18,500), in addition to more than 2000 Chinese and a now rapidly increasing number of white immigrants and half-breeds. Since 1867 this huge territory, covering about 577,390 square miles, has been the property of the United States, which bought it from Russia for £1,450,000 (\$6,960,000). A Greek Catholic mission continues from Russian times, which counts 13,000 adherents, mostly Aleutians and Eskimo, who have, however, only in the most external fashion been made nominal Christians. The climatic conditions are in a great part of the land similar to those of Greenland and Labrador; the economic conditions are much better, especially on the coast, but also inland, where there are woods and water. The pursuit of fur animals is very profitable, and there is great wealth of mineral treasures. Recently the discoveries of gold on the Yukon River (Klondyke) have enticed a wild host

¹ [For 130 years ships bearing this name made the annual voyage to that inclement coast without any disaster. In 1900, for the first time the ordinary channels of traffic had so extended as to suffice for the purposes of the mission. —ED.]

of adventurers into this icy land, who, it is to be feared, will corrupt the native population even more than the white immigrants have hitherto done. Evangelical missions are here of still recent date, having been begun in 1877, when the first station was established at Fort Wrangel by the Northern Presbyterian Church of the United States under Dr. Jackson, who is now in the service of the Government as general inspector of schools, and labours untiringly for the good of the country. Gradually the mission has grown to eight stations, of which Point Barrow, next to the Danish Upernivik in Greenland, is the most northern in the world, and Sitka, the capital of the territory (in the south-eastern part) is the most important, and through its industrial school the most influential for civilisation. The total number of Christians belonging to the Presbyterian mission is 3500. Stirred by the Presbyterians, the American branch of the Moravians began in 1885, in the south-west of the country, particularly among the Eskimo population, a mission which has now three stations (Bethel on the estuary of the Kuskokwim being the central one), and which through the self-sacrificing labour of courageous missionaries flourishes hopefully, and has over 700 Christians. Of the seven remaining missions, all proceeding from North America, which since 1886 have been undertaken in Alaska, the most extensive is that of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with its numerous stations (2800 Christians), its centre of gravity lying in the mighty river basin of the Yukon; the most original, especially on account of its combination with the work of civilisation, is that of the independent missionary, Mr. Duncan, who, after his separation from the English Church Mission, migrated in 1887 from Metlakahtla with the greater part of the Indians of the place to Annetta Island, and there founded a New Metlakahtla. All the evangelical missions in Alaska together have at present about 9000 Christians under their care, a considerable result when one remembers the difficulty of the field of labour and the shortness of the time. For the work among the gold-seeking white adventurers, in addition to the Church Missionary Society, quite a number of church communions in North America have promptly girded themselves.

SECTION 2. BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

125. We come now to British North America, or the Dominion of Canada, the immense territory which embraces all the land north of the United States, with the exception of Alaska, to the Arctic Sea on the north, the Atlantic Ocean on

the east, and the Pacific Ocean on the west, a space quite fifteen times as large as the German Empire. The 5 millions of colonists who inhabit it live chiefly on its southern part, traversed by the Canadian Pacific Railway, while in the forts and factories scattered throughout the whole territory there is but a sparse white population. Still it presses ceaselessly northwards, as far as the nature of the soil makes settlement profitable. The natives, with the exception of a number of Eskimo in the north, are composed of various tribes of Indians, who are believed to number about 122,000 (35,000 in Canada proper, 52,000 in Manitoba and the North-West, and 35,000 in British Columbia), of whom some 75,000 dwell in reservations allotted to them by the Government. These have for the most part become agriculturists, but the increase of colonisation threatens to reduce them to proletarianism.

It is only remnants of the old Indian population that are now met with here and in the United States. It will never be definitely ascertained how large their number was before the white immigration. In any case it has been much reduced by the ceaseless wars which they have waged with each other and in which they have been involved by the whites, by the reckless treatment they have received at the hands of the self-seeking immigrants, and by the destruction which brandy has wrought among them. Never, however, have the Indians been such noble men as the well-known fiction of Seume depicts for us in the Canadian unacquainted with the superficial politeness of Europe, although in their character certain chivalrous features were found in which romantic fiction had some support. But that is true only of the full-blooded Indians, not of the numerous half-breeds, who as a rule combine in themselves the vices of both races. The religion of the Indians too has been much idealised. Their belief in the Great Spirit takes a very subordinate place beside the worship of wild beasts and demons, and has had no power to break the curse of witchcraft which enthralled them so terribly. What has made and still makes the mission among them so difficult, in addition to their hatred of their white oppressors, is their wild intractableness, their revengefulness, their unsettled nomadic life, their dispersion over immense distances, and their complicated polysynthetic or agglutinative language, divided into many dialects, which by reason of its insertions and endless appendages is a real cross to the missionaries. Of the numerous tribes of Indians in Canada, the most important are, in the east, the Algonquins, with the Crees and Ojibwas, or Sotos; on the Great Lakes, the Hurons and Iroquois; in the west and north, the Tukuds [or Loucheux Indians] and the Athabascans.

126. The Canada proper of to-day was formerly a French colony. From 1608 there was an always increasing French immigration and occupation of territory, with which there went hand in hand an energetic though very external conversion to Catholicism, chiefly on the part of the Jesuits. Colonisers and missionaries worked into each other's hands, and since the immigrants for a long time consisted only of French people, the colony became Catholic and was almost entirely dominated by the Jesuits. Even to-day the Catholic element predominates, although numerically it has been overtaken by the Protestant. There are some 2 millions of Catholics as against $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions of Protestants,¹ who are weakened, however, by their denominational divisions.

While the French occupied chiefly the south and south-east part of the land, the English found a footing in the north-east on the vast Hudson's Bay, named after its discoverer (1610), the hinterland of which was called Hudsonia, and afterwards Rupert's Land. Soon a trading company, the Hudson's Bay Company, was formed, with privileges granted by Charles II., in 1669, which extended its rule ever farther to the west. This company had not the remotest thought of Christianisation; indeed, later they took a very hostile stand against it, because they thought the introduction of Christianity into their territory would injure their profitable trade. Even their officials they left for a long time without any spiritual care. It was a dogma of these merchants, that the Indian was not capable of civilisation, and was only to be treated and made use of as a slave or animal.

In 1763, England conquered French Canada, and in 1869 the English crown acquired also the Hudson's Bay territory, so that now the whole of America lying north of the United States, with the exception of Alaska, is a British colony under the name of the Dominion of Canada, though it is only loosely connected with the mother country. Politically it is divided into Canada, Hudsonia, and British Columbia, each of which falls again into various provinces.

Since the political conditions have been consolidated, the treatment of the Indians in British North America has become much more humane than formerly, and their condition is much better than it is in the United States.

127. Evangelical missions began first in the present Dominion of Canada in 1820, and it was a chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company, John West, who gave the impulse to it. After he himself in his long journeys had, with self-sacrificing zeal, interested himself in the Indians, and had educated several Indian boys, of whom two, Henry Budd and James Settee, after-

¹ The census of 1891 gives 1,992,017 Catholics and 2,773,681 Protestants.

wards rendered eminent service as ordained missionaries among their countrymen, he induced the Church Missionary Society to set on foot an Indian mission, which in the course of 80 years has extended enormously, and stretches from Lake Superior in the south-east to Herschell Island on the borders of Alaska in the north-west (70° N.) of Canada.

Of the two first missionaries of the society, to Cockran, who spent 43 years in the service, belongs the importance attaching to a pioneer. After overcoming great difficulties, he established in the years 1831-33 the first Indian settlement on the Red River, a little northward of the present Winnipeg, in which he combined with missionary activity a successful work of civilisation. When Smith, the missionary, visited it in 1840, he could testify that he could find as good peasants and workmen as in England. It has now grown to be an independent Indian community, well ordered and economically flourishing, with more than a thousand members, under the care of a native pastor. In 1840 a similar settlement was founded in Cumberland, on the north-west of Lake Winnipeg, by Henry Budd, who has been already mentioned, and in 1872 there was no longer a single heathen in the place. Up to 1857 quite a number of stations came into being on the Saskatchewan River, on Moose Lake, between Manitoba Lake and Winnipeg Lake, and on the Assiniboine and the English Rivers, and all of them developed hopefully. In 1849 the diocese of Rupert's Land was constituted, with Dr. Anderson as the first bishop. That great diocese, which stretched from Red River to Moose Fort on Hudson's Bay, was in 1872 divided into four dioceses, and in 1884 and 1887 four more were added in Hudsonia, and in 1879 three in British Columbia. We shall go through the extensive Canadian mission field as far as possible in geographical order.

128. We may pass over Lower Canada (Quebec) as well as Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, because in them the Romish Church almost entirely dominates the field. On the other hand, in Upper Canada (Ontario), of some 18,000 Indians, 9600 are Protestant and 7500 Catholic, and the small heathen remnant will soon be assimilated. The work among the Indians here is no longer of a missionary but of a pastoral character, and is partly in the hands of capable native pastors. The congregations are incorporated respectively in the colonial churches. Careful attention is given both by the Anglicans and by the Methodists, who carry on work here beside them, to the different educational institutions, including industrial schools. New Fairfield, the little Moravian station north-west of Lake Erie, merits special mention, not

merely because it is the oldest in the whole district, but on account of the fascinating history which led to its founding. It was here that the Christian Delawares, the fruit of the labour of Zeisberger, cruelly persecuted in repeated wars and driven hither and thither, were settled, for the first time in 1794, for the second time in 1815.

The Canadian mission field proper begins with the diocese of Rupert's Land; only, the independent Indian congregations of old standing on the Red River are immediately incorporated with the colonial church,¹ and appear no longer in the mission statistics. The mission diocese, in which also Canadian Methodists and Presbyterians labour with success, numbers 12 Anglican stations, with 3500 Indian Christians, among them St. Peter and Fairford, with each over 1000. Besides Cockran, another missionary, Cowley, whose period of service likewise extended over 40 years, laboured here with marked success. A college connected with the Church of England and a higher school for boys and girls provide a solid education.

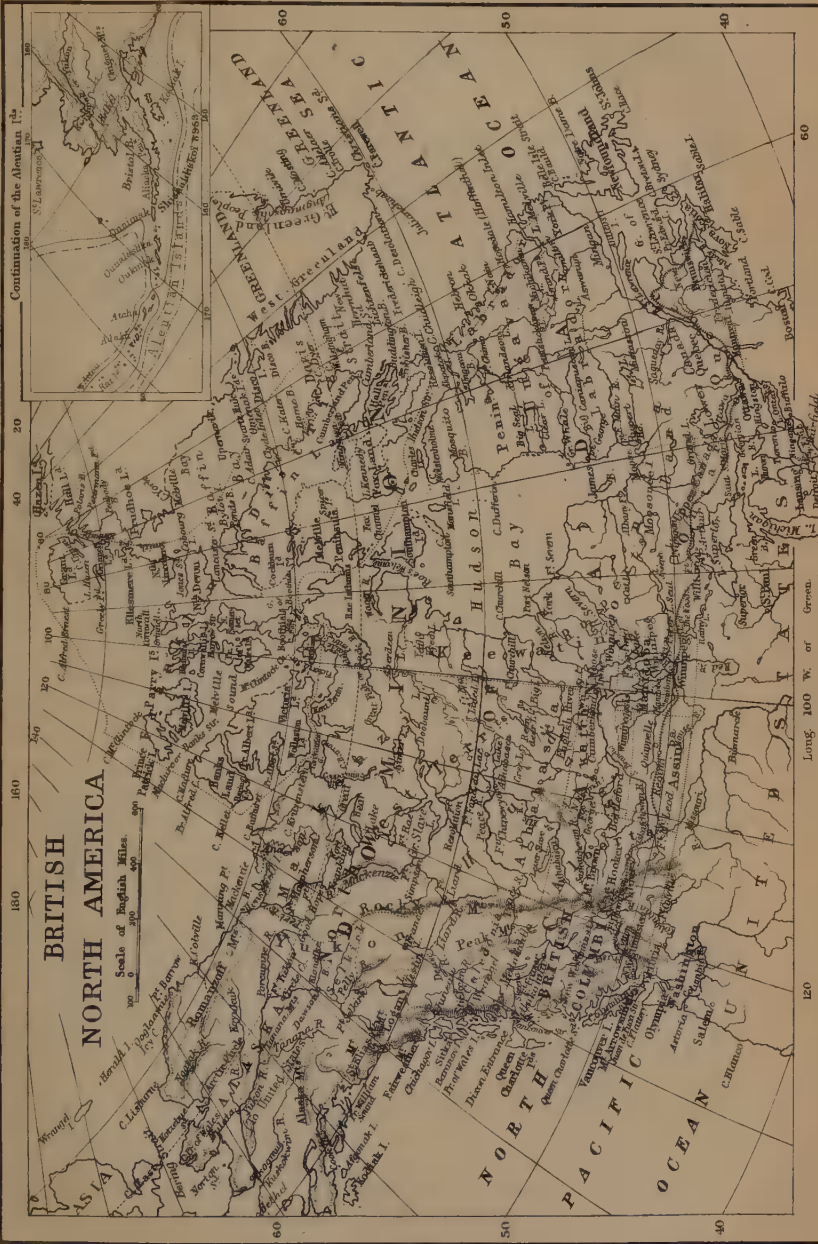
On the east and north Rupert's Land touches the diocese of Moosonee, which lies around Hudson's Bay, with a widely scattered population of only 10,000 souls, the itineracy of which is attended with unspeakable hardship and danger. It has now 9 stations, with 2300 Christians, of whom the majority are very isolated. The most distinguished of the missionaries of this great district is Horden,² who was promoted from schoolmaster to bishop, a man who has laboured unceasingly during 42 years among four tribes with different languages as itinerant preacher and visitor, while he was also engaged in literary work. The Cree tribe of Indians especially has been almost wholly Christianised by him. Towards this result the translation of the Bible into the Cree language gave material aid. It is in the syllabic writing invented so long ago as 1840 by the Methodist missionary Evans, and now universally used. The Ojibwas too are almost wholly Christianised, chiefly by two preachers of their own race, who have also given them a literature.

To the west Rupert's Land is bounded by the comparatively small diocese of Qu'Appelle, which was divided off first of all in 1884, and is still in the main a field for itinerant preaching. It has only one settled station of the C. M. S., but also other two which are under the S. P. G.

North of it lies Saskatchewan, the scene of the far-reaching activity of Henry Budd. Its 8 stations, with 3500 Christians,

¹ Regarding this church, see *C. M. Intelligencer*, 1898, p. 58.

² Batty, *Forty-two Years amongst the Indians and Eskimo. Pictures from the Life of John Horden*, London, 1893.



W.A.K. Johnston, Limited, Edinburgh & London.

are for the greater part on the river which gives the diocese its name. When the Catholic half-breeds here rebelled in 1885, under the well-known leader Riel, the Protestant Indians stood faithful to the Government.

West of these two dioceses lies Calgary with 4, and north or north-west, Athabasca with 6 stations. The work here is hindered by a spiteful Roman counter-mission. This evil is also much felt in the large and inhospitable diocese of Mackenzie River, which borders on the north of Athabasca and extends to the Arctic Sea. From its 6 stations, lying on the river of the same name and connected with the forts of the Hudson's Bay Company (900 Christians), there proceeds far and wide an effective missionary and civilising influence, which is always being extended by active itineracy, difficult though that is, and hindered by the differences of language. Notably Macdonald and Bompas have in this way rendered heroic service.

The extreme north-west diocese in Hudsonia is Selkirk, which reaches to the borders of Alaska. It has now 5 stations in course of hopeful development, with 1000 Christian Indians, of whom the Tukuds are the most numerous.

As already remarked, the Canadian Methodists have 12 stations scattered through Hudsonia, with some 10,000 Christians; and the Presbyterians 13, with 1000 Christians. On the part of the latter there has also been a careful attention to industrial work, which has been blessed with increasing success. How great may be the number of native Christians in the Dominion in connection with the S. P. G. is not apparent from its reports.

The third chief territory of the Dominion of Canada is British Columbia, on the Pacific Ocean, which is divided into the three dioceses, Columbia, New Westminster, and Caledonia. Close on 65,000 whites have settled here, half of whom, however, are on Vancouver Island and in Vancouver City on the mainland, which is the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Besides about 9000 Chinese immigrants, there are in this district, still rich in promise for the future, some 35,500 Indians, of whom 12,000 are Catholic and at least 11,000 Protestant (Anglicans and Methodists). They are divided into many tribes, with different languages, and those of them who are still heathen are in a condition of great savagery. The mission among the Zimshians has been the most successful. In 1862, Duncan, a man of rare practical missionary genius, who had been a schoolmaster, settled among them in Metlakatla, opposite the Queen Charlotte Islands. In a comparatively short time, successfully overcoming all obstacles, he formed a well-organised Christian community of 1200 souls,

which at the same time he transformed to an independent centre of civilisation quite unique in that wilderness, the fame of which spread over the whole land, and aroused the high admiration of the Governor-General when he visited it.¹ Unfortunately, Duncan's disobedience to the ecclesiastical principles of the C. M. S. necessitated his removal from the society's service, and this was the occasion of his emigration with the great majority of his Indians to Alaska, where, as already mentioned, he founded a new Metlakahtla.² The old station, however, has recovered from this crisis; only the congregation is reduced to 240 souls.

There are altogether 11 stations belonging to the C. M. S. in British Columbia; but alongside of it the S. P. G. has, in the two dioceses of Columbia and New Westminster, 5 stations, and the Methodists, 20 (?). The latter also carry on work among the immigrant Chinese, not without success (600 Christians), although the white colonists hinder this work seriously by their hatred of the Mongolian element. In the whole Dominion of Canada the number of native Christians amounts to at least 41,000.

SECTION 3. THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO

129. The great territory of the United States of North America, which stretches from the south of the Dominion of Canada as far as the Mexican frontier, and west and east to the Atlantic and the Pacific, contains, according to the census of 1900, a population of 76,295,220, which, with the exception of about 8 millions of coloured people, consists of white settlers, who have all come into the new fatherland as Christians. Of these, now more than 76 millions, about 10 millions belong to the Roman Church, while the remainder are to be reckoned as Protestants, although there are some millions of them who are marked as "unclassified," because they have attached themselves to no definite evangelical church communion. The Protestant population is divided into 16 main denominations, and the number increases to 143 if the numerous subdivisions of the chief groups are counted, but without including the very small sects. The Methodists, Baptists, Lutherans, and Presbyterians have most adherents.³

¹ *Metlakahtla and the North Pacific Mission*, London, 1880.

² *Missionary Review*, 1899, pp. 500 and 539.

³ *Dorchester, Christianity in the United States, from the First Settlement down to the Present Time*, New York, 1888. Carroll, *The Religious Forces of the United States, enumerated, classified, and described, on the Basis of the Government Census of 1890*, New York, 1893 (vol. i. of *American Church History*).

The white immigration had its earliest beginning from Mexico in the south-west with the Spaniards in the first half of the sixteenth century, and they were followed successively by the French, mainly in the north-east, the English in 1600 and 1620 in two settlements on the Atlantic (Virginia and Massachusetts or New England), and the Dutch and Swedes just between the two English colonies. In Virginia the immigrants were mostly staunch English Churchmen (Cavaliers); in New England, Puritans; later came Quakers, who under William Penn settled in Pennsylvania in 1682, and to whose honour be it added that they treated the natives with most consideration, as they also were the first to declare strongly against slavery.¹ Since that time the inflow from almost all the countries of Europe has grown immensely, but the English element has so greatly gained predominance that it has set its national stamp on the whole population.

The coloured population falls into three groups: Indians, Negroes, and Chinese.

130. The Indians,² so called because it was supposed that the newly discovered America was India, form the original population of the country. Although they consist of a single race, they do not call themselves by a single name, but by the names of the many tribes, of different languages, into which they separated, and which lived mostly in a state of war with each other. Their number within the United States before the white immigration, as in Canada, cannot be determined; in any case it was much greater than now, when it has melted down to about 250,000. The diminution is not due to a law of extinction, but to the constant wars, the diseases brought in from abroad, the ruin brought by brandy, and the cruel treatment on the part of the white colonists. It is not necessary to repeat the sad story of the intercourse of the white man with the red, which is made up of bloodshed, constant expulsions, broken agreements, and a whole long series besides of cruelties, abuses, falsehoods, deceits, spoliation, and crimes of every kind; the story is too well known. Even to-day, when the red man is no longer feared, that is reckoned the best Indian policy which proclaims the principle: "The only good

¹ "The first step which Penn took," writes Voltaire, "was to conclude a treaty with his American neighbours, and that is the only treaty between Indians and Christians which was not confirmed by an oath, and was never broken." And the historian Mackenzie states that, while in the surrounding settlements the colonists massacred and were massacred, "no drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by the hand of an Indian in the territory of Pennsylvania."

² Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1857.

Indian is the dead Indian." There have arisen, indeed, from time to time humane voices on behalf of the poor hunted red man. Notably, various church societies (Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists), and from time to time even statesmen, have taken up his cause with energy, but on the whole they have failed to turn aside his tragic fate. Even the concentration of Indians in the Indian Territory beyond the Lower Mississippi, where the so-called five civilised tribes (65,400 souls) are now settled, and in the 93 Reservations scattered over the States, in which there live 132,800 Indians, was for the most part attended with crying injustice and severity, and not seldom secured no sure protection at all for the Indians against the land-hunger of the white settlers who pressed in after them. The Union Government, indeed, made considerable grants in aid of the transplanted Indians (£1,600,000 in 1893); but apart from the fact that the lion's share of these stuck in the pockets of dishonest agents, these doles of money and natural products conferred a very doubtful benefit on the Indians, because, by making them sure of bounties, they rendered their education to independence illusory. The first change to a just and really educative treatment of the Indians was brought in in 1887 by the so-called Dawes' Bill, that is, the law that all Indians who give up their tribal connection and name may become citizens of the State in which their Reservation lies, and receive, instead of the usufruct of the Reserve, a piece of ground of their own free from taxes and inalienable, a privilege of which up to the present about 50,000 Indians have availed themselves with good results. Of the 250,000 redskins of the United States, only 92,000 are yet Christians—71,000 Evangelicals, 21,000 Catholics; and the majority of these are good, reliable, earnest Christians, and, moreover, quite settled in their habits. This implies that Christianity has been for them the beginning of civilisation. The remainder of the Indians are the object of the missionary work of to-day.

131. The mission among the Indians, now two and a half centuries old, forms one of the most romantic and heroic, but also, alas! one of the most tragic sections in the history of modern missions. The tragedy lies in the continual destruction of hopeful beginnings by most inconsiderate land-grabbing on the part of the white immigrants. Again and again the young shoots have been trodden down by the iron foot of so-called civilisation, which manifested itself towards the natives as the cruelest barbarity. With more humane treatment the Indians would have been one of the most grateful objects of missionary effort, and would long ago have been all Christians.

As has been mentioned before, missionary activity among

the Indians was first begun when the Puritans had been already 25 years in the country, by John Eliot, pastor in Roxbury, Massachusetts, 'who had been born and highly educated in England. He was an original man, who combined with many peculiarities sincere piety and a heart full of love, and led an earnest consecrated life.¹ On account of his Christian walk he was held in such respect among the colonists, that they had a tradition that the land could not be destroyed so long as Eliot lived. After he had got some command of the difficult language, he began in 1646 his first missionary attempt among the Indians at the Falls of the Grand River. On their side he was met with a great desire to learn, and if he had been so easy with baptism as the Roman Catholics, he might soon have baptized thousands. But although the Indians listened diligently to the Word of God, prayed in their wigwams, and changed their heathen mode of life according to a Christian set of rules, Eliot delayed long with baptism. From the very beginning he laid stress both on the civilisation of the Indians and on the founding of civilly independent Indian communities in Christian colonies, in which he hoped to be able to realise his Puritan ideal of a kind of Old Testament theocracy. The first colony of Natick began not far from the present Boston in 1651, and was organised exactly according to Exodus xviii. 13 *sqq.*, and then followed the first baptisms. Besides, he translated the Bible and established a seminary for Indian helpers. And now Eliot was no longer alone. On Martha's Vineyard, where the pious colonist Mayhews devoted himself to the Indians, 283 of them formed a Christian settlement exactly like that in Natick, and in 1652 made a covenant with God with this declaration: "To-day we choose Jehovah to be our God in Christ Jesus, our Teacher, our Law-giver in His Word, our King, our Judge who rules us through His magistrates and the pastors." And so, in spite of much enmity on the part of the medicine-men and some of the chiefs, there arose one after the other in New England 14 "Praying Indian Villages" with some 3600 Christians, who led a quiet and peaceful life in all honesty, and made pleasing progress in a very great variety of the labours of civilisation. Everything was going well, when in 1675 the desolating war broke out between the Indians and the English which is known as the war of "King Philip," the chief of the Wampanongs. In this bloody war the Christian Indians stood between two fires, and had

¹ At a great age, when bowed beneath many painful experiences, particularly the enmity of the colonists, he wrote to Robert Boyle: "My understanding leaves me, my memory fails me, my utterance fails me; but I thank God my charity holds out still."

almost as much to suffer from the suspicious English as from their heathen countrymen, on whose side only a few ranged themselves. It caused Eliot, who was now growing old, great pain to see how this war destroyed almost all his flourishing plantations,—a typical occurrence which has been repeated only too often in the course of two centuries. When Eliot died in 1690, there were left only sorrowful remnants of the work which had been so greatly blessed.

Besides Eliot the family of the Mayhews laboured as missionaries to the Indians—through five generations down to the end of the eighteenth century—on the islands of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth, strenuously supported from the beginning by Hiakumes, the first convert of the Christian Indians. They gathered some 1800 Christians in different congregations, which seem to have remained more secure in the war troubles than Eliot's Indian villages. Some preachers, too, of the Swedish settlers made missionary attempts among the Delawares, which appear, however, to have been only feebly carried on and to have yielded scant results. Altogether there set in after the death of Eliot a considerable ebb in the Indian mission. British effort was limited mainly to that of the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, which, however, was only sporadic. This society, founded in Edinburgh in 1701, established a Board of Correspondence in New York in 1741, whose most important agent was David Brainerd, a man who combined Puritan one-sidedness with an equal degree of the most self-denying faithfulness, and amid continuous inward struggles wrought not without success in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. He also gathered the converted Indians in a special settlement—"Bethel," and laboured to make husbandmen of them; but after four years' labour the sickly man died in 1747.¹ A true evangelist too was John Sergeant, who founded a small Indian settlement at Stockbridge in Massachusetts (1734-1749). A deeper influence was exerted by Eleazer Wheelock, a Puritan clergyman of New England, who in 1754 made a beginning with the education of Indian youths both as teachers and missionaries among their countrymen, and as farmers and artisans, and for this purpose erected an Indian Missionary Institution in Lebanon, Conn. Although he too did not succeed in bringing into operation a mission maintained and conducted quite independently by Indians, there went forth, nevertheless, from his school a number of capable native helpers, of whom the two ordained preachers Occum and

¹ Thompson, *Protestant Missions: their Rise and Early Progress*, New York, 1894, chap. iv., with sources mentioned.

Kirkland in particular achieved permanent results as missionaries and pastors, the former among the Oneidas, the latter among the so-called Six Nations.

132. More important than the British missionary efforts were those of the Moravians, among whose Indian missionaries Rauch and, particularly, the apostolic David Zeisberger are pre-eminent. As far back as 1735, when the Brethren undertook colonisation in Georgia with permission of the British Government, their heroic work began. Its history forms the most shocking episode in the whole tragic Indian mission. Flourishing life was again and again choked in blood; peaceful congregations gathered with much pains were hunted from place to place; harmless missionaries were suspected as men dangerous to the State, and dragged before the Courts and even to prison,—and all this from white people who bore the Christian name! After the Brethren had to retire from Georgia, Rauch founded in 1742 the first station, Shekomeko, in the State of New York, after patiently overcoming unspeakable difficulties. It developed into a peaceful oasis in the midst of a wilderness of barbarism, and for that reason became an offence to the white settlers and had to be given up. The founding of Gnadenhütten in Pennsylvania followed in 1746; in 1749 it had a population of 500 Indians, and for almost ten years it developed happily both outwardly and inwardly. Then war broke out between the British and the French, and the heathen Indians became involved in it and were induced to set the mission-house on fire, whereby eleven of its inhabitants lost their lives and the beautiful station was completely destroyed. A sorrowful time followed, in which the Christian Indians were scattered in flight, and scarcely had they been gathered into the new colonies of Nain and Wechquetank when they were overtaken by the same fate as at Gnadenhütten. In 1765 the colony of Friedenshütten was founded. For seven years the people lived here in peace, cultivated their land, organised themselves as a Christian congregation quite in Herrnhut fashion, and from this centre carried on an active and far-reaching mission. But being always oppressed anew, they had to withdraw farther, and gradually settled in four villages on the Muskingum, all of which developed into permanent colonies. Then the North American War of Independence broke out, and both British and Americans tried to draw the Indians to their side, while the missionaries made every effort to keep them aloof from the war. Once the British Governor sent a note to the missionaries ordering that their Indians should advance against the Americans beyond the Ohio and bring him their scalps, but Zeisberger in anger threw

the letter into the fire. This action filled the Governor with furious hatred towards the Christian Indians, who, moreover, had not all followed the advice of the missionaries. It induced him also to cause the heathen Hurons to destroy a part of their beautiful settlements by fire, on which occasion, too, Zeisberger's valuable manuscripts were burned. Still more shocking, however, was the bloody deed perpetrated by a band of American volunteers, who, on 8th March 1782, slaughtered in cold blood 96 defenceless Indians, including 27 women and 34 children. Not till 1791 did the hunted Christian Indians find a permanent resting-place at Fairfield in Canada. The chief hero of this much-suffering mission was, as has been already remarked, the brave Zeisberger. He had become quite an Indian to the Indians, and worked among them from 1745 to 1808, loved as a father and honoured as a patriarch. Of the once so hopeful work of the Brethren, Fairfield alone remains to-day for a witness; but quite recently two Indian stations have again been founded in South California.

133. After the Government of the United States was constituted, quite a number of American church societies undertook mission work among the Indians, to some extent with gratifying success, especially in the Reserves. But the land-hunger of the colonists, with all the dishonesty, cruelty, rapacity, and the unjust wars which it brought with it, always lay like a poisonous mildew on the sprouting seed. It would lead us too far afield to enumerate all the separate Indian mission centres that to-day are scattered throughout almost the whole territory of the United States. It is calculated that there are 193 missionaries at work among the Indian population. Should the Government at last adopt, for all time to come, a just and humane Indian policy, the disinherited redskins will in time forget the crying injustice that has for centuries been meted out to them, and then the chief hindrance to their Christianisation will have been removed.

134. Much more numerous than the Indians of the United States are the negroes, who number to-day at least eight millions. The very existence of this population is a reproach to the white Christians of North America. Not to them alone, it is true: the whole of Western Christendom has been stained by the part it has taken in the slave trade and in the introduction of slavery. Yet North America, along with the West Indies, became the chief slave-market. In no other colony has the number of negro slaves ever been so great. Even although it be granted that their lot was in many respects quite tolerable, yet inseparable from it there was much inhumanity, which must be reckoned as a disgrace to the Christian slave-

holders, and as a demoralising degradation to the slaves. After Christian North America had for centuries tolerated slavery, and indeed protected it by law, even although it had long been proscribed by the example of England, it required a bloody civil war (1860-65), in which motives mainly political at last brought about its abolition.¹

Hardly any organised mission, such as that among the Indians, was carried on among the negroes of North America till 1860. Many pious Christian people, however, and Christian congregations of the most various denominations, particularly the Methodists and the Baptists, made the Gospel known to the slaves living in their districts, and provided church care for the converts. This occasional work of converting and caring for the negroes met with bitter opposition from some of the slave-holders; others, however, not only tolerated it but treated it with favour. In this way a work of Christianisation went on steadily, which was materially facilitated by the fact that the negro slaves were settled people who could always be reached, and that the English tongue could be used as a means of instruction. As the result of this work there were in 1860 some half a million Baptist and Methodist negro communicants. Since emancipation the Christianisation of the negroes has been carried on so energetically, also by other sections of the church, and in particular by the negro Christians themselves, that, according to the church census of 1900, the principal coloured churches alone numbered 3,314,900 communicants. The greatest number belonged to the Baptists (1,864,600) and to the Methodists (in five sects, 1,411,300); but there are also Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Episcopal, and other coloured church communities, which together number scarcely less than 100,000 communicants. If we add to this, that especially in the Northern States there are also many Christian negroes within the white congregations, we must reckon the total number of evangelical coloured Christians in North America to-day as at least $7\frac{1}{4}$ millions.² That is the most compact body of converted native Christians to be found in present-day mis-

¹ It may be remarked in passing, that this war cost the almost incredible sum of 10 milliards of dollars (2000 millions sterling) and 803,000 men,—the costliest war of modern times. Perhaps one may see in these sacrifices a kind of atonement (Busse, in the old-German sense of the word) for the wrongs perpetrated on the slaves.

² Noble, *The Redemption of Africa*, New York, 1899. This book (chap. xiv.: "Africa in America: Missions to Black Americans") is the first, so far as I know, which gives a survey of the missions to North American negroes; it reckons the total number of negro communicants in the United States in 1890 at 2,673,977. But it is not manifest whether the detailed statistical statements which then follow regarding the several coloured denominations, organisations, and churches, and which are unfortunately not very clear, refer to the same

sions. Only a very small percentage of the negroes of the United States are Catholics; the still heathen remainder will soon be assimilated by the evangelical Home Mission. The Christianity of the majority of these black millions is still indeed at a tolerably low stage, and imposes heavy tasks on the educative missionary activity. But in this educational work great zeal is being shown by the whites as well as by the blacks. In particular the (Congregationalist) American Missionary Association has rendered valuable services in this respect by means of its extensive school activity. Among the colleges founded by it for the blacks, the Fisk University has become the best known, because it has been founded essentially by the contributions collected some twenty years ago in America and Europe by the black Jubilee Singers. But the principal work has been done, and is being done to-day, by the negroes themselves. Since the liberation of the slaves they have gathered for school purposes, inclusive of buildings, the amazing sum of £5,713,000 (\$27,422,400); and for church buildings, £8,000,000 (\$38,400,000). Two and a half millions of negro children are now attending schools, 45,000 of them at high schools, and in these schools there are 35,000 black teachers. That is an advance in forty years deserving of every recognition. It is true that there is much that is only an outward varnish of culture, and combined with much self-conceit, and the great mass are still on a low level both of culture and of morality. It was a rash stroke on the part of the North American Liberal doctrinaires to confer the franchise immediately after emancipation on the negroes, morally and spiritually neglected, and even wasted as they were by their long slavery; it puffed them up, while at the same time making them the play-ball of political parties. Another fantastic American scheme, which is every now and then being started afresh, is that of the emigration on a large scale of negroes to Africa. Whether the North American negro Christians are called to play an important part yet in African missions is a question which can scarcely be answered at present. As yet the hopes entertained in this respect have not been fulfilled. The large and steadily increasing number of negroes in the United States, whose very colour renders them an element in the population bearing a certain stigma, and provokes the white mob to continual acts of violence, presents to the politics as well as the Christianity of North

year 1900, or to a later year. But since it is said, "By actual church membership, or by domestic and social ties, 4 million black citizens of the United States possess Baptist affiliations" (p. 484), the total estimate of 7½ million evangelical negro Christians in the year 1900 is more likely to be too low than too high.

America a problem in national ethics the sound solution of which demands much wisdom.

It is a remarkable fact that, while more than half of the Indians, the original inhabitants of North America, are still heathen, the imported negroes have almost all accepted Christianity. With respect to the negroes, the fault of the whites is at least as great as with respect to the Indians, for the sin of the slave trade and slavery cannot be considered less of an evil than the cruelty that has been shown to the Indians. If, however, the black population of North America had accepted Christianity, and that in the case of many of them while still slaves, the fact is to be explained only by the twofold circumstance that the misery of slavery made the negroes more susceptible to the comfort of the Gospel, and that the messengers of the Gospel appeared to them as their friends and protectors. There was also among the black slaves much fierce hatred of their white oppressors, and frequently this hatred blazed forth in the flames of rebellion; but their transportation into a strange land, and the deadening of their feeling of independence, broke their power of resistance; and as there was not lacking a Christian charity which took a friendly interest in the oppressed and was able also to reach them, their oppression under slavery created a receptivity for Christianity. After emancipation, their eagerness for education and for the attainment of a social position alongside of the whites has probably co-operated towards their Christianisation. Men's treatment of the black people was very bad, but God's all-wise mercy directed it so that out of it good came to them. The missionary history of the West Indies will introduce us once more to the question of slavery.

135. The third section of the coloured population of North America consists of Chinese immigrants, who for half a century have been coming especially into the Western States.¹ They number to-day about 108,000, and they would be much more numerous, were they not kept in check by the often violent enmity of the American workmen towards their yellow rivals, and by unjust legislation. This immigration has its dark side. It cheapens labour, and in the segregation of the Chinese element has led to dangerous immorality through the disproportion of the immigrant men to the women; but their illiberal treatment by the Americans is not thereby justified. These heathen of the Middle Kingdom have been zealously befriended by the American friends of missions, especially by the Presbyterians, Episcopal Methodists, and Baptists, mostly by the agency of missionaries who have been

¹ Gibson, *The Chinese in America*, Cincinnati, 1877.

in China; and, in view of the abusive treatment which they often meet with in free America, it is a great result of Christian charity that, by preaching and teaching in schools, over 1000 Chinese have been converted, of whom probably the half have returned to their country and are there doing much for the extension of Christianity. Of the many Japanese, too, who stay for a time in the United States, mainly for their education, not a few take home with them as their most precious treasure the Gospel of Christ.

136. In Catholic Mexico a large number of North American missionary societies prosecute an active work of evangelisation, which meets with violent opposition on the part of the priests, and has repeatedly stirred up the fanatical people to bloody persecutions. The work, however, is always extending farther over the whole country, and already more than 50,000 natives have been gathered into Protestant congregations. This, however, is not properly a heathen mission, and so we content ourselves with this reference and pass on at once to the West Indies.

SECTION 4. THE WEST INDIES AND CENTRAL AMERICA

137. **West Indies.**—In this great archipelago an African population early took the place of the aborigines, who were almost exterminated by the inhuman cruelty of the Spaniards.¹ The introduction and treatment of these Africans belong, in like manner, to the darkest pages of the world's history. There is no foundation in fact for the legend that the African slave trade was introduced by the Dominican Bartolomeo de Las Casas, the noblest figure of that time among the Spaniards of the West Indies. What is true is that this brave champion of the ill-treated natives recommended the introduction of a number of African negroes to the West Indies in order to check the frightful depopulation of the islands. It was sympathy with the perishing Indians that led him to give this advice, and at a later time he bitterly regretted it as the greatest mistake of his life. But Las Casas certainly did not introduce slavery. Long before his time black slaves were no unfamiliar article of trade. It is to the Portuguese that the shame belongs of having first brought the "black wares" into the market. As far back as 1442 they brought slaves to Lisbon from the West Coast of Africa. And so far was the Roman Church, then all-powerful, from condemning this disgraceful trade, that it even made it lawful. In 1452, Pope Nicholas v. wrote to King Alfonso of Portugal: "By virtue of our Apostolic

¹ Helps, *The Life of Las Casas*, London, 1868.

office, we confer on thee free and unlimited authority to transport the Saracens and heathen and other unbelievers and enemies of Christ into perpetual slavery." Eugene IV., it is true, threatened excommunication, on paper at least, to those who should make slaves of baptized negroes or catechumens, but he offered no objection to making slaves of heathen negroes and keeping in slavery those who had been baptized. From time to time there appeared a feeble papal disapproval of the inhuman practices connected with slavery, but the institution itself was not condemned. Both Dominicans and Jesuits fought strongly against the cruel treatment of the slaves, but they did not lay the axe at the root of the evil itself. Not even Las Casas did so, for his recommendation to import African negroes into the West Indies can only be explained on the supposition that he did not consider slavery itself a wrong.

In 1501 the Spanish Crown expressly permitted the importation of African slaves, and after that this accursed trade in human beings was regarded as legally sanctioned. Gradually all the seafaring Christian nations began to take part in it,—English, French, Dutch, Danes, and at times Brandenburgers also. An approximate estimate can hardly be formed of the total number of slaves exported from unhappy Africa during all the centuries of slavery. There must in any case have been many millions; and if we consider, in addition, how many lost their lives in the slave raids and in the course of transport to the coast and to the place of settlement, how many, too, under the cruel treatment of their masters; and if, finally, we reckon up all the misery and suffering, as well as the moral degradation, which were inseparably bound up with slavery, we shall not find any exaggeration in the words of Lord Palmerston: "The crimes which have been committed in connection with African slavery and in the slave trade are greater than all the crimes put together which have been committed by the human race from the beginning of the world till the present time." In the West Indies themselves the treatment which the slaves experienced was very varied in character. Many had to suffer inhuman cruelties; but in some cases the relations were of a patriarchal type, and we must guard ourselves against representing all the slave-holders alike as brutal masters. From the beginning the evangelical missionaries took the part of the slaves when they were oppressed, and they hold a place in the front rank of those who fought for the abolition of slavery.¹

¹ Warneck, *Die Stellung der evangelischen Mission zur Sklavenfrage*, Gütersloh, 1889, 13.

thus drawing upon themselves no small enmity on the part of the planters. At last, in 1838, England gave freedom to all the slaves in its colonies, granting to their masters an indemnity of £20,000,000. Gradually this example was followed in the other West Indian possessions; in the Spanish last of all. As happened later in the Southern States of the North American Union, the bypast wrongs of the slaves in the West Indies avenged themselves after their emancipation, for by far the greater part of them had not been educated to the right use of freedom, and in consequence the colonies fell back industrially. There arose a scarcity of workers, and it was found necessary to bring in coolies from India and China, by which the population, already pretty mixed, was made still more varied, and their standard of morality was lowered.¹ Over the whole of the West Indian islands there is to-day a population of about five millions, including numerous white people and mulattos, divided variously through the Spanish, British, French, Dutch, and Danish possessions.

138. The island of Cuba,² formerly misgoverned by Spain, but now under American government, with its 1,573,000 inhabitants, among whom there are only half a million negroes and 15,000 Chinese, is nominally Catholic. It was only sixteen years ago that evangelical missions succeeded for the first time in gaining some entrance here, at first by the agency of two Spanish pastors, then of a native Cuban, Diaz, a physician and a leader of insurgents, who had to flee and was completely converted in New York, and then returned as an evangelist to his native country. This man has succeeded in forming a scattered evangelical congregation, which at present has 2500 adult members, and in winning 10 of the natives as helpers. Now that the intolerable Spanish rule has been abolished in this beautiful and unhappy island, an extended evangelical mission will doubtless soon come into operation. The American missionary societies are already organising such a mission.

Haiti, with a population of 1,370,000, which in its two republics has given itself a caricature of self-government, is also outwardly Catholicised, but is in reality filled with the darkest African superstition. Here also it is a rather limited work of evangelisation that is carried on, mainly by the

¹ Very instructive glimpses into the social life of the West Indian negroes are given by W. P. Livingstone, *Black Jamaica: a Study in Evolution*, London, 1899.

² The American census has shown that not even 50,000 of the population attend a school, and two-thirds of the same are illiterate. Only 24 per cent. of the adult population have formed legitimate marriages.

American Protestant Episcopal Church. As a result of it, there are some six or seven thousand evangelical Haitians.

Porto Rico, whose population of 807,000, including 343,000 coloured people, is likewise nominally Catholic, has during its subjection to Spanish rule scarcely been touched by evangelical missions, but now, like Cuba, has become the object of evangelisation by eight American societies.

139. The remaining part of the West Indian archipelago forms, on the other hand, a mission field, or rather now a church territory, which is in the main evangelical. Here again it is the Moravians who have the credit of having begun evangelical missions in 1732. Besides Leonhard Dober and David Nitschmann, the founders were Friedrich Martin and Gottlieb Israel. At first there was very much to suffer, and only such courageous faith as animated the young Moravian Church could supply the energy for carrying on the mission. In particular the loss of human life was great. Up to 1739, 22 Brethren, some of them colonists, died in St. Thomas and St. Croix. To the loss of life was added violent persecution by the whites. When Zinzendorf himself came to St. Thomas in 1739, he found the Brethren in prison because the Danish Governor supposed them to be dangerous agitators. Soon, however, there was a change. Ten years later, when Spangenberg visited the island, the same Governor led him to a window of his house and asked him if he had seen his "castle." He pointed to the plantation of the Brethren and said, "There it lies. It is that that gives us our security in this island, and makes it possible for me without any fear to sleep a night outside of the fort, which otherwise I should not venture to do." An attempt at colonisation in St. Croix failed, but nothing could shake the perseverance of the brave Brethren, prepared as they had been even to become slaves if by that means they could carry the message of Him who breaks all bonds. Besides St. Thomas and St. Croix, the Moravians also occupied St. Jan in 1754, and so in a short time their mission extended over the whole of the Danish West Indies. In the three islands which have been named it has to-day about 5000 Christians under its care at eight stations, and maintains a theological seminary for the education of native preachers and teachers. Of 32,700 inhabitants, 10,000 are Catholic, the rest are almost entirely evangelical; the majority—about 12,000—belong to the Anglican Church.

140. From 1764 onwards the Moravians occupied also the western part (Jamaica) and then the eastern part (Antigua, St. Kitts, Barbadoes, Tobago, Trinidad) of British West Indies. In Jamaica, however, it was only after 1815, and especially

after the abolition of slavery in 1838, that success attended the mission work, and in 1860 a great awakening took place. At present the Moravians have 19 stations in the island, with 16,000 Christians, 75 schools, 2 institutions for men and women teachers, and 7 native preachers. As it was the first, so it was for long the only mission in Jamaica. Now, however, work is carried on also by the English Church, the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Scottish Presbyterians. In the Lesser Antilles, the eastern part of British West Indies, where also many initial difficulties and reverses have been experienced, the Moravians have to-day, in connection with 8 stations, over 18,000 Christians, 50 schools, and 7 native preachers. Along with them Anglicans and Methodists and Catholics are also at work here. The West Indian mission field of the Moravians, with its 40,000 coloured Christians, in which hardly any baptisms of heathen now take place, is at present in course of being transformed into an independent church province. Financially it is supported even now almost entirely by its own resources. The schools are provided with native teachers, and many congregations with native pastors. The co-operation and supervision of the European missionaries can, however, not be dispensed with. Unfortunately, during recent years, in consequence of the decline of the sugar industry, the whole economic condition of the West Indies has so deteriorated that the prospect for the future is very cloudy. The church life, which here too moves in Herrnhut forms, is on the whole flourishing. Morality, however, is still elementary, and suffers from the after-effects of slavery.

141. After the Moravians, the English Methodists entered on a West Indian Mission, beginning in 1786, when Thomas Coke was driven by a storm to Antigua while on his way to Nova Scotia; and the fearless zeal with which he succeeded in awakening an interest in England for the West Indian slaves, and maintained their cause there, soon brought the work into successful operation.¹ The greater the enmity of the slaveholders to the missionaries, the more receptive did the negroes show themselves. They revered the missionaries as their protectors, and the stirring Methodist ways, so accordant with their own character, had for them a peculiar attractiveness. At Coke's death, which took place in 1813 on his way to Ceylon, the Methodists could count already 11,000 negro Christians. The West Indian Mission, after bearing till this time an essentially personal character, was now organised by

¹ Moister, *The Father of our Missions: Being the Story of the Life and Labours of the Rev. Thomas Coke*, London, 1871.

the founding of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. In 1820 the whole of the West Indian mission field was divided into four districts,—Antigua, St. Vincent, Jamaica, and the Bahama Islands,—each of which was again divided into various circuits. In spite of much enmity on the part of the slave-holders, the Methodist Mission increased from decade to decade. In 1870 there were in all its districts 42,000 church members¹ in full communion, who may have increased now to some 48,000 (160,000 Christians). With the exception of the Bahama district, with 3600 church members (14,400 Christians), the West Indian mission field is now an independent Wesleyan Church Province, news of which is no longer given in the missionary organs. The Christianity of the negro Methodists is not free from superficiality, although it has supplied many examples of brave and joyful suffering for the faith, especially in the times of slavery. Along with great self-sacrifice for the church there goes much moral laxity, which has not been overcome even by the repeated revivals, the religious value of which has been often too sanguinely overestimated. The great diligence which has been applied to the education of the Christian negroes has produced much good fruit, but also much distasteful caricature.

142. Third in order came the English Baptists, who soon developed great activity, which was energetically directed not only to the mitigation of the lot of the slaves, but also to their liberation. Among their missionaries, Thomas Burchell and William Knibb² are especially pre-eminent, fearless men who could be wearied by no calumnies or suffering, and whose zeal contributed not a little to the carrying out of emancipation in the British West Indian possessions. The Baptist Mission began its work in Jamaica in 1813, following in the steps of an original negro from Virginia, G. Liele, who had laboured in Kingston since 1783 and had gathered a congregation, which under his successor Killick, also a negro, increased before 1830 to a membership of several thousands. Under Burchell and Knibb the Baptist Mission advanced rapidly. In 1831 it had already 10,800 full church members, and by 1842 this number had increased to 24,000 (about 100,000 Christians) in over 123 congregations, which joined together to form the Jamaica Baptist Union, and were supported almost entirely from their own resources.³

¹ Moister, *A History of Wesleyan Missions in all Parts of the World*, London, 1871.

² F. W. Burchell, *Life of Rev. Thomas Burchell*, London, 1849. Hinton, *Memoirs of Rev. W. Knibb*, London, 1847.

³ Underhill, *The West Indies: their Social and Religious Condition*, London, 1862.

There are now 186 congregations with 37,000 members, who represent a Christian community of 115,000. There was a great revival in 1861, which, however, extended far beyond Baptist circles, and was much talked of at the time. A negro rebellion took place in 1865, in which the whites far surpassed the blacks in cruelty. Besides the mission in Jamaica, the Baptists have also missions in Trinidad, the Turks Islands, San Domingo, and the Bahamas, which together have 6000 church members (19,000 Christians). These congregations, too, contribute a considerable share of the money needed for their support. There appears, however, to be a want of capable negro pastors. Perhaps part of the blame is to be attributed to an erroneous method of education, characterised by an excess of subject matter. The religious life of the Baptist Christians, like that of the Methodists, moves up and down in revival fashion. At present there seems to be an ebb, which gives occasion for much regret.

143. In British West Indies by far the greatest number of the coloured people belong to the Church of England, which has here a complete episcopal organisation, and stands only in a partial missionary connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Before the founding, in 1824, of the first Anglican bishopric, the Church Missionary Society had begun in 1819 a mission in Antigua, which was soon extended to Jamaica and Trinidad, but was given up again in 1839, as the Colonial State Church became more organised. At first the mission of this church and its clergy had not much to show. These gentlemen, indeed, performed baptisms enough, but gave themselves little concern about the education and care of the negroes, who in consequence did not respect the clergy, and in particular saw in them the allies of the slaveholding party. It was therefore not surprising that both the religious and the moral life of the numerous negroes who belonged to the official Colonial Church stood on a miserably low level. After emancipation, however, a change began which led gradually to better conditions. Meantime the reports afford too little material for us to form a reliable judgment concerning these;¹ even the organs of the S. P. G. give only sporadic and unsatisfactory notices. There may be some 380,000

¹ In the report of the deputation sent by the C.M.S. to the West Indies in the beginning of 1897, to procure workers for their West African Mission from the coloured members of the Anglican Church there, it is said (*Intell.* 1897, p. 294): "On all sides it was said to us that the coloured Christians are wanting in steadfastness, that superstition and immorality prevail, which are often associated with a large amount of emotionalism, external profession, and regular participation in public worship."

coloured people belonging to the Church of England in its six dioceses,¹ of whom the large majority belong to Jamaica, the Windward and Leeward Islands (Barbadoes, Antigua, etc.). The education of a coloured pastorate according to sound methods receives careful attention. In Jamaica the third part of the Anglican clergy are men of colour. In Anglican circles, too, an independent missionary society has been formed, the West Indian Missionary Association, which in conjunction with the S.P.G. sends missionaries to West Africa (Rio Pongo). The considerable State grants which in former times came to the Anglican Colonial Church have long ceased, and with them has passed away the unjust church-tax, which all the subjects of the British Crown had to pay to this church, whatever denomination they might themselves belong to.

144. Of the remaining Protestant Church communions which support missions in the West Indies we mention only the Scottish United Presbyterians, who in 1847 took over the mission which had been begun in Jamaica by the Scottish Missionary Society in 1824, and soon largely extended it. In particular the revival of 1861 already mentioned increased considerably the number of church members, which then, however, declined greatly in consequence of a time of severe distress, till in 1868 a new period of success began. To-day this solid mission has, in Jamaica, 11,200, and in Trinidad 440, members (altogether, 21,500 Christians) in 60 well-organised congregations, who contribute the large sum of £7500 yearly for church purposes, and so are well advanced towards financial independence. Though much is done for higher school education, and though there is even a Theological Faculty which sends out capable coloured pastors, yet there is quite intelligibly an unwillingness to force on separation from the home church. Over fifty years ago the Presbyterian Mission in Jamaica originated the Old Calabar Mission in West Africa, which was then, however, undertaken by the church in Scotland.²

145. The total number of the evangelical coloured popula-

¹ But the Anglican Church Province under the jurisdiction of the Primus embraces also Honduras and Guiana, and so numbers eight dioceses.—*Mission Field*, 1895, p. 326: "History and Prospective Work of the West Indian Church."

² Goldie, *Calabar and its Mission*, Edinburgh, 1890. [It may also be mentioned that this church alone, of all the churches in Jamaica, has begun a special mission to the new heathen population of the island, the 14,000 coolies from India. Five trained East Indian catechists are at work among them, under the superintendence of a former Indian missionary, and the results of the mission in four years have been surprisingly great.—ED.]

tion of the West Indies, including the imported coolies, is much greater than was formerly supposed, and amounts to at least 800,000 souls. Jamaica, and most of the Lesser Antilles, may be considered, on the whole, as Christianised, although there are still heathen enough, and the Christians are much in need of an elevation of their religious, and especially of their moral, life. The formation of the mission Provinces into fully independent church Provinces, an end which is earnestly sought after by all the missions in that field, is hindered by circumstances the removal of which, if it is attained at all, cannot be expected within a measurable time. These are, besides the inconstancy of the negro character, its still greater corruption by reason of long slavery, and the severance of the people from their natural environment by their removal from their native land. Even the abolition of slavery, which forms the most important epoch in the history of the West Indies, could not remove these evils. Besides the economic difficulties which followed on emancipation, and which, so far from having been overcome, are only now felt in their real magnitude, slavery almost entirely destroyed the marriage relation and family life, so that up to the present day these are still very defective, while the mere community of colour has not yet produced any feeling of national community among the masses of individuals. If their ecclesiastical independence takes a form like that among the negro population in the United States, what is attainable will have been attained.

146. Central America, the narrow bridge which connects the two compact halves of America, consists of five States—Guatemala, San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Its population of about five millions is made up of Indian aborigines, half-breeds, and negroes, and is nominally almost entirely Catholic. Besides several small North American and West Indian societies, whose main work is evangelistic, and amongst which is a special Central American Mission founded in 1891, and emanating from Texas, the Anglicans (S. P. G.), the Wesleyans, and the Moravians are engaged in labouring amongst the various coloured people with a view to their Christianisation, especially in British Honduras (Belize), the republic of Rattan, upon the island of that name, and the Mosquito Coast. The result of their labours is over 10,000 Christians, of whom the half belong to the 14 stations of the Moravians. On the Mosquito Reserve, the chief Moravian field, which until a short time ago was a self-governed State under English protection, but has now been annexed by Nicaragua, the chief station is Bluefields; and amongst the

Indians, Ephrata, to which Dakura was added in 1893. The seizure of the country by the Catholic State of Nicaragua has endangered the mission not a little. In particular, the school work has been almost paralysed by the introduction of Spanish as the language of instruction.

SECTION 5. SOUTH AMERICA

147. The great South America, with its population of about 38 millions, made up of whites, half-breeds, and Indians, is nominally Catholicised, with the exception of a heathen Indian remnant of some hundreds of thousands. The Catholicism, indeed, is of a kind that, according to even Catholic testimonies, is more heathen than Christian, and its morality is on a sadly low level. There are many crosses, but no word of the Cross; many saints, but no followers of Christ.¹ The original inhabitants were by no means, as in the West Indies, exterminated by the conquering Spaniards, but everywhere have been enslaved; and in places, for example in Peru, flourishing civilisations have been destroyed. Of the aborigines proper, there are believed to be still about 5 millions: the remaining population is a mixed one of European colonists, Indians, and Africans, affected with all the flaws of half-breeds. Since the wars of independence (1809–1824) the territories which were formerly Spanish have been formed into nine republics. To these were added in 1889 the United States of Brazil, into which the former empire of Portuguese descent was transformed. Almost all of these free States are still subject to anarchy and revolutions,—a fact which is as dubious a proof of their political maturity as of Roman Catholic capacity for the education of nations. The Spaniards and Portuguese have kept house for four centuries in South America without rivals, and what a difference there is between their sphere of government and the Protestant North America!

148. South America has been described, with respect to evangelical missions, as “the neglected continent,”—not unjustly, for, with the exception of a part of its northern margin (Guiana) and its southern extremity (Tierra del Fuego), it has no proper evangelical mission field. Evangelistic work, indeed, is carried on by a number of societies, particularly from North America, and by many isolated agencies among the Catholic population of all the South American States, and about 20,000 Protestant

¹ Warneck, *Protest. Beleuchtung der römischen Angriffe auf die evang. Heidenmission*, Gütersloh, 1884, pp. 121 and 425.

church members are said to have been gathered out;¹ but there is no proper evangelical mission to the heathen, except in Paraguay, Argentine, and Chili, and in these only very recently, and within very modest compass.

On the other hand, Dutch and British Guiana forms a large and fruitful evangelical mission field, the former being worked by the Moravians, the latter by Anglicans and Methodists.

149. Dutch Guiana, better known as Surinam, as fruitful as it is malarial, has a population of only some 60,000, composed of old Indian remnants (Arawaks), imported negroes, half-breeds, Chinese and Indian coolies, and about 2000 whites in varied combination. Almost half of the people live in Paramaribo, the capital; the other half are widely scattered through the colony, and about 9000 of them have their home in the bush country with its covering of primeval forest. These bush negroes are the descendants of the imported Africans, who saved themselves from slavery by flight, and after long struggles won for themselves a position independent of the colonial government, which they maintain till the present time. Slavery existed till 1863; since its abolition the industry of the colony has declined, and the gaining of freedom has not always proved a blessing to the former plantation hands. The country is dominated by a Jewish plutocracy, which is often a cause of grief to the mission. Surinam is one of the mission fields that have demanded the greatest sacrifices. Of 360 men and women sent out up to the present time, the unhealthy climate has brought almost the half to an early grave. The Moravians have laboured here since 1738, with temporary interruptions and repeated abandonments of individual stations. After an unsuccessful attempt among the negroes in Berbice, they began work among the Arawaks, and the first converts were baptized at Pilgerhut in 1748. Special blessing attended the work of Missionary Schumann (*d.* 1760), who was the author of an Arawak grammar and dictionary. The flourishing work, however, was disturbed, and in part destroyed, by a plague and by a rebellion of the bush negroes. This gave rise to a mission to the negroes in the bush country, in the capital, and gradually also on the plantations. The first, as arduous on account of the difficulties occasioned by their associations as it was dangerous on account of the unhealthy climate, was, it is true, repeatedly stopped; but it was always taken up again by brave workers, both on the upper Surinam (Gansee, Bergendal) and on the Sarawacca (Maripastoon, Kwattahede). In 1778 the first negro church was erected

¹ *Missionary Review*, 1893, p. 860. *Protestant Missions in South America*, published by the S.V.M.U., New York, 1900.

in Paramaribo. Most of the plantation stations have been founded only in this century, particularly between 1835 and 1860. The emancipation of the slaves was followed by a great movement of the negroes to the capital, where there are now about 15,000 Christians gathered in three congregations. In very recent times a mission has also been begun among the Auka negroes on the Cottica and the Marowyne (Wanhatti, Albina). At present the Surinam Moravian Mission has under its care 29,600 coloured Christians in connection with 20 chief stations. The superstitious heathenism of the negroes is dying away more and more, and confidence in Christianity is increasing. Unfortunately the moral condition of the Christians is still very defective, especially in regard to the relations of the sexes. In the time of slavery there were no lawful marriages, and the custom of irregular marriages still holds. In spite of all the wise discipline of the missionaries, and of the law now conferring a civil status, the Christian celebration and observance of marriage has not yet become a universal custom. Besides this, the unfavourable social conditions render it difficult to train native workers, although there have not been wanting some admirable helpers, such as John King. In very recent times much difficulty has been caused by the Catholic counter-mission, which has some 10,000 adherents.

150. British Guiana is divided into three counties, taking their names from the rivers Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo. It has a total population of 288,000, among whom there are now only about 20,000 Indian aborigines. The number is made up mainly of about 100,000 negroes, whose ancestors were brought in as slaves; of about 105,000 Indian and Chinese coolies, who were brought in after emancipation; and of half-breeds,—once more a very composite population, forming a difficult mission field.

The London Missionary Society began work here in 1807 among the plantation slaves, at the invitation of a pious Dutch planter, Post, who, unfortunately, found among his class very few like-minded with himself. The first agent was the excellent missionary Wray (*d.* 1837), and the work rapidly began to flourish. The majority of the slaveholders were bitter enemies of the mission; and when, in 1823, there was a rising of the negroes, who believed that their masters were concealing from them resolutions of the British Parliament giving them the prospect of liberation, the slaveholders used this opportunity to condemn the successful missionary Smith to death as the instigator of the rebellion. He was indeed pardoned, but in consequence of

ill-treatment and anxiety he died in prison in 1824, before his perfect innocence was judicially established.¹ Notwithstanding, the work went on again successfully from the year 1829; gradually there were established 7 stations in Demerara, and 9 in Berbice; and before 1838 the number of the black Christians rose to 18,000. In that over-hasty zeal for the independence of congregations which characterises the London Missionary Society, it withdrew more and more from this field, although no satisfactory substitute could be found among the coloured people for the European missionaries. Part of the congregations formed themselves into a Congregational Union, which has to-day about 3200 church members, while another part have sought connection with the Church of England.

In 1815 the Wesleyans entered upon the work, their first missionary having been banished from the country in 1805. Throughout the three counties they have laid down, one after the other, 5 chief stations, and they have a native East Indian working as coolie missionary among the Asiatic labourers of some 80 plantations. The whole Guiana Mission, with its total church membership of about 5500, is attached to the Methodist West Indian Conference. In addition to them, the Plymouth Brethren carry on work from Georgetown, the capital, as centre, at 16 different places, among negroes and Indians, and have about 1300 church members. The way was opened up for them among the Indians by Meyer, a devoted independent missionary. Since 1878 the Moravian Mission has, by the agency of two native preachers, cared for a Christian congregation of immigrants from the West Indies, numbering 800 souls, on the Grahamshall plantation, and a dependency of it in Demerara.

The most extensive work, however, is that done by the Anglican Church, which has zealously given itself to the care of the whole coloured population, including the Indians, and reckons—probably too highly—about 150,000 (over 20,000 communicants) of them as belonging to it. After working for a short time among the Indians, the C. M. S. handed over this field to the S. P. G., which sent out, in the person of the gifted Brett, a missionary of great pre-eminence, to whom it was granted to labour twenty-six years in that dangerous climate. At first among the Arawaks, and afterwards also

¹ When Smith presented himself to the Governor in 1820, the latter received him with dark unfriendly looks, and said to him sharply and crossly: "If you take it into your head to teach a negro to read, and I hear of it, I will hunt you out of the colony."—*The London Miss. Rep. of the Proceedings against the late Rev. J. Smith of Demerara*, London, 1825.

among some other deeply degraded Indian tribes, he accomplished so much by his preaching, Bible-translation, and pictures, that the visiting bishop was filled with astonishment. His work was continued by faithful hands, and so to-day there are 21 Anglican Indian stations with some 8000 Christians in all, of whom probably the half have been gathered by Brett.¹ But the negroes, the Asiatic coolies, and the half-breeds have not been neglected. The Anglican Colonial Church had the good fortune to possess in Bishop Austin, who was also Primus of the West Indies, a chief shepherd who, from 1842 till his death in 1892, had as much at heart the spiritual care of the Christians in his diocese as the conversion of the heathen. It is true that the average level of the coloured Christians in respect to religion and morals is still rather low, and there is still a deficiency of capable native helpers, as well as of liberality towards the church, which is due not to poverty alone, but also to the fact that the Christians belonging to the State church are accustomed to receive their means of support from the Government; but if one takes into account the unfavourable conditions under which the mission here operates on a demoralised human material, standing, moreover, on a low plane of civilisation, the result is still, as in Surinam, very considerable.

151. The last of the evangelical missions in America is found at its extreme southern point, in the inhospitable Tierra del Fuego, the population of which, divided into three tribes, numbers at most 5000 souls, and stands probably on the very lowest level of human civilisation. To begin a mission among the wild natives of this desert country was one of the boldest undertakings of Christian love; and since this love, in spite of the tragic history which made all its sacrifices seem for long to have been offered in vain, was never discouraged, and has at last begun to gain the victory, this page of the history of evangelical missions, with its record of heroic courage, is worthy of special mention, even though it be written with numbers which are but small.²

A pious English naval officer, Allen Gardiner, in a voyage in 1822, became acquainted with the deep moral and spiritual degradation of the aborigines of Southern America; and in his ardent missionary zeal he found no rest till, after various vain attempts and a prolonged activity as an independent missionary in South Africa, he succeeded in 1844 in establishing a Patagonian Missionary Society, which was afterwards enlarged

¹ Brett, *Indian Missions in Guiana*, London, 1851. *The Indian Tribes of Guiana: their Condition and Habits*, London, 1868.

² March, *A Memoir of the late Captain Allen Gardiner*, London, 1874.

to the South American Missionary Society. The two first attempts issued in failure, and, after untold hardships, he had to return to England, robbed by the natives of all his possessions. The third attempt, which he made in 1850 along with six brave companions, ended in the destruction of the whole expedition: the hostile Indians withdrew and left them without the means of sustenance, and all seven perished of hunger. Nothing more pathetic could be read than the journal of these devoted heroes, which was afterwards found. But this mournful ending gave the first real stimulus to the English friends of missions to carry forward the work. At the end of October of the same year a new missionary expedition set sail in the mission ship *Allen Gardiner*, and succeeded not only in founding a station on Keppel Island, in the Falkland group, but also in bringing to it Tierra-del-Fuegians, and by their agency entering, as it appeared, into friendly relations with the inhabitants of the mainland. Then in 1860, during a visit, the whole crew of the ship were treacherously surprised and put to death, with the exception of the cook, who saved himself. In spite of this, the work was not given up. In 1862, Missionary Stirling, who in 1867 was designated Bishop of Falkland, again established relations with the Tierra del Fuegians, and in 1868 he succeeded in establishing at Ushuwaia the first mainland station, at which in 1872 the first converts of the Tierra-del-Fuegians, 36 in number, were baptized. The station at Tekonika (or Lagutoia) was added in 1888, and now forms the centre of the mainland mission. All the three stations have now been transformed into fairly tidy villages, progressing in civilisation, which excite the admiration of strangers. In these there are altogether over 200 baptized Christians. The difficult language has been mastered; separate portions of the Bible have been translated, and 5 natives are already at work as teachers. On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the South American Missionary Society, the British Admiralty gave expression to its thankful recognition of the transformation which its missionaries had brought about among the Tierra-del-Fuegians. Already, at an earlier date, Darwin had written to the same society: "The results of the Tierra del Fuego Mission are perfectly marvellous, and surprise me the more that I had prophesied for it complete failure."

SUMMARY

152. Summing up the statistical result of evangelical missions in America, we find it to be in round numbers somewhat as follows:—

Greenland, Labrador, Alaska	.	.	.	.	20,000 Christians.
Canada	.	.	.	.	41,000 „
United States—					
Indians	.	.	.	74,000	„
Negroes ¹	.	.	.	7,225,000	„
Chinese	.	.	.	3,000	„
				<hr/>	
				7,302,000	„
West Indies	.	.	.	810,000	„
Central and South America	.	.	.	193,000	„
				<hr/>	
Total	.			8,366,000	Christians.

¹ Along with Grundemann (*Kleine Miss.-Geogr. u. Statistik*), I have decided to include the North American negro Christians in the missionary statistics. If the West Indian negro Christians are included, there is no intelligible ground for excluding those of the United States. The one as well as the other are the result of the missionary work of the present period among the heathen. But I differ from Grundemann very materially as regards the numbers. In the endeavour to supply as far as possible only figures that are sure, even if they have been meanwhile revised, he repeatedly puts down figures that are too low. When he says (p. 176, note 5), "Even as the proofs are being corrected, I am informed on reliable authority that the number of evangelical negroes in the United States can hardly be less than 8 millions," and adds, "which I myself readily believe," he should not have left it standing at 4 millions, the number he had put down. I have only entered it as $7\frac{1}{4}$ millions, although $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions is probably the correct number. On the other hand, I have somewhat reduced my former number for South America, through a reduction of the statistical figures for British Guiana.

CHAPTER II

AFRICA

INTRODUCTORY

153. FROM America we pass to Africa, so closely connected with it through the slave trade. Till a quarter of a century ago the survey of African missions meant hardly more than a glance round the continent, in the proper sense of the words; for, apart from South Africa, it was almost exclusively on the coast region that missions had set foot, and even there the interior had been penetrated no more than a few days' journey. And this was not to be wondered at. Africa was not only the dark, but also the closed continent, and its waterways hardly gave access to more than its margin. The rest of the continent formed an inaccessible Colossus, and it is not a missionary duty to open up the doors of the world, but to go where they have already been opened.¹ Under the providential leading of God, the desire of knowledge and the instinct of acquisition open the doors of the world by the agency of explorers, merchants, and colonial politicians; and this door-opening is the missionary contribution, made for the most part unconsciously, and even involuntarily, by the world. Ever and again, indeed,—and this has in a very conspicuous way been the case in Africa,—it has been missionaries who, by the exploration of unknown territories, have literally made new paths for missions; but on the whole this work has fallen to worldly forces.

In the last decades the appointed time in the world's history for the opening up of Africa has come, brought on chiefly through the mighty impulse given by Livingstone, the prince of African explorers; and, in proportion as the closed continent has been opened up, it has also become a mission field. The interior is accessible now, not only from the south, but also from the east and from the west, and the result of the making of ways into the heart of the dark continent has been

¹ Warneck, *Ev. Missionslehre*, iii. 144.

an abundance of Central African missions. The fact that at present no other continent can show so many new mission fields, and these occupied at great expense, affords a very tangible proof of the inward connection subsisting between the opening up of the world and missionary enterprise. We must begin our survey, however, not with these recent undertakings, but with the older coast mission fields in the west, south, and east.¹

SECTION 1. THE WEST COAST

154. The oldest African evangelical mission field, next to South Africa, is found on the west coast from Senegal to the Congo. In this far-stretching field English, German, American, Swedish, French, and also many native missionaries are at work, at more than 100 chief stations, representing some 20 societies, and having about 175,000 converted heathen in their care. They are working under very varied conditions, and with varied success, everywhere under the greatest disadvantage from a deadly climate, in the midst of a deeply degraded fetichistic heathenism, holden in the fear of spirits and the superstitions of witchcraft, and still further demoralised through European influences in the widespread gin trade; and they are working under a growing competition on the part of Mohammedanism, which, too, is always pressing nearer to the coast. The largest part of this region consists of French, English, German, and Portuguese colonial territory, to which has to be added the Congo Free State, which belongs to the King of the Belgians.

155. In French Senegambia, in contrast to the north of Africa, which has a population of another, more of a Caucasian, sort, begins the zone of the negro race, which, again, includes two, or rather three, families of peoples considerably different from one another. Here the Paris Missionary Society conducts an evangelical mission at two stations, with meagre forces and in the face of many hindrances; with its frequent changes of workers, it makes slow progress, compared with the extensive Catholic Mission. The Wesleyan Mission in the small hemmed-in British possession on the Gambia, with its scarcely 700 members, likewise seems to have indifferent success, and to be confined at present to the single station at Bathurst. Farther south we come on the third small evangelical mission on the Rio Pongo, in what is now French Guinea. After several missionary attempts which were afterwards given up, a

¹ Noble, *The Redemption of Africa: a Story of Civilisation; with Maps, Statistical Tables, and Select Bibliography of the Literature of African Missions*, New York, 1899, 2 vols.

mission was begun in 1855 by coloured missionaries from Barbadoes in the West Indies, under the nominal supervision of the S. P. G., which has gathered some 2000 negro Christians at its three stations: the religious and moral condition of these converts, however, seems to be rather defective. In 1892 this mission was placed under the inspection of the Anglican Bishop of Sierra Leone, and has been visited by him. Literary work, especially in translation, has been done to a small extent in the native languages in all these districts, and schools are held throughout.

156. Sierra Leone is the first great evangelical mission field that we come to. It is a British colony, having been bought by the African Company in 1790, and in 1808 handed over to the Crown, in order to provide a place of settlement both for the negro soldiers who had fought on the side of Britain in the American War of Independence and had received their freedom, and for the African slaves liberated by the British Sea Police after the legal abolition of the slave trade. The first attempts that were made among the black settlers were directed to civilisation alone, and failed. Then in 1804 the C. M. S. began the work of Christianisation with German missionaries, among whom Nylander and Jansen¹ (called by the English Johnson) were pre-eminent. Their efforts were at first grievously hindered, not only by the deadly climate, but still more by the disorderly mass of human beings slumped together out of many tribes and languages. Up to 1846, 50,000 liberated slaves were brought in. The first 1100 among whom the mission began its work spoke 22 different dialects; altogether there gradually came to be, it was said, 117 different tribes represented in the colony.² In face of this Babel of tongues hardly any other course was open than to introduce English. Another hindrance was the fact that this confused mass, being destitute of the slightest feeling of community, lived in a state of constant conflict among themselves, and were dull, lazy, and in the last degree unchaste, besides being in bondage, without exception, to heathenish superstition. And how great was the mortality among the missionaries!—In 25 years 109 men and women died. And yet all these difficulties were overcome. Repeatedly the English officials bore witness to the great blessing wrought intellectually, morally, and industrially through the work of the mission. From the beginning great pains were taken with school work, and more recently higher schools and seminaries

¹ Pierson, *Seven Years in Sierra Leone*, New York, 1897.

² In this African Babel the missionary Kölle afterwards gathered the material for his famous *Polyglotta Africana*, London, 1854.

were begun, among which Foorah Bay College, which has trained many able preachers, takes the first place. Its bestowal of academic degrees is certainly very flattering for the black theologians, but not always favourable to the solidity of their education or to their humility. At the present time complaints are made about the small attendance. In the High School, too, the subjects of instruction are too numerous and the aims too high. In 1852 an Anglican bishopric was established, which up till now has been held by seven bishops, and in 1861 the Sierra Leone Church, which at that time had about 12,000 Anglican members, was declared independent, though somewhat prematurely, by the directorate of the mission. The society, however, while retaining in its own hands only the direction of the higher educational institutions in Freetown, the capital, carries on a mission among the heathen Temnes in Port Lokkoh, and at two other places farther inland. The Sierra Leone Church is doing missionary work on the Bullom peninsula and the island of Sherbro. The result, however, is as yet scanty (400 native Christians).

Besides the C. M. S., the English Methodists, so far back as 1814, entered into the work, and, in spite of the frequent change of workers, attained a numerically greater result than the Anglicans,—at the cost, however, of solidity in the Christianity planted by them, as is shown already by the great fluctuations in their statistics, which indicate at one time 7000 communicants and at a subsequent date far fewer. Of their workers at present only one is a European. Besides these, Lady Huntingdon's Connexion numbers 1650 adherents, and an African Methodist community 5300 adherents, so that of the population of the colony of Sierra Leone, amounting to some 75,000 souls, 41,000 are evangelical Christians, who are almost entirely under the spiritual care of native pastors. The Catholic mission has not succeeded in gaining much of a footing. In reference to the condition of the Sierra Leone Christians in religion, morals, and civilisation, it must be said that, along with a great deal of mere churchliness, there are many moral defects and much that is but the outward varnish of civilisation. But in spite of all the deficiencies, which are greatly exaggerated by the opponents of missions, the mere existence of this energetic colony, which has developed from a chaos into what is, in comparison with Africa generally, a civilised community, is an achievement that reflects great honour on missions. The fact deserves special recognition, that the Sierra Leone Christians have taken an active part in the further extension of Christianity, especially into Yoruba Land and up the

Niger.¹ The adjacent heathen territory, however, has been evangelised very little by the Sierra Leone Christians, but (apart from the C. M. S.) by the American United Brethren, and more recently by the International Missionary Alliance, with most success in the Sherbro region, where nearly 12,000 Christians have been gathered. On the occasion of the rising of the savage Temne tribe against the British Government in 1898, 15 members of the mission staff of the United Brethren (7 Europeans and 8 Africans) were murdered with the utmost cruelty,—a blow, the first consequence of which has been the stopping of the whole mission. A worker of the C. M. S. was also a victim of this rebellion; its work has, however, already been resumed.

157. In the neighbouring Liberia we have another unique negro State, that, like the Sierra Leone colony, owes its origin to a philanthropic scheme. In 1817 there was formed in Washington, mainly at the instigation of S. J. Mills (p. 107), an American Colonisation Society,² which set itself the task of settling free American negroes in Africa. After an unsuccessful attempt on Sherbro Island, this was at last effected, amid many misfortunes, on Cape Mesurado, where in 1824 Monrovia was founded, the future capital of the settlement that received the name Liberia. Meantime the immigration from America was by no means so considerable as the optimism of the Colonisation Society had hoped. On the highest estimate, up to the present day it amounts to 20,000 souls, and all fresh attempts to transplant American negroes back to Africa in great troops have failed. The greatest folly was committed by doctrinaire Republicanism when, in 1847, it declared Liberia a free State, quite after the model of the United States,—an error, to the account of which may chiefly be laid the social and industrial failures which have brought discredit on the Duodecimo Republic, aptly styled by Zahn “the land of big words and small deeds.” There have been, indeed, among the Liberians some intellectually eminent men, like Dr. Blyden, but till now the majority are caricatures of culture, whom the veneer of education has made very high-minded, but has not yet made ripe for self-government.

The immigrant negroes being already nearly all Christians, there was no need to Christianise them, but there was need of ecclesiastical consolidation, or rather of a home mission work, to which especially the American Presbyterians and Episcopal Methodists gave themselves, employing to a very large extent

¹ *Jubilee Rep. of the Sierra Leone Auxiliary, C. M. S.*, London, 1867.

² The organ of this society is the *African Repository*, a periodical somewhat rhetorically written, whose representations are to be used with care.



English Miles



coloured pastors as their agents. The natives proper, who are composed of various native tribes (Vey, Bassa, Kroo), and number over a million, were an object of missionary effort, not by the Liberians, but by the American societies already named; to which have to be added the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Lutheran General Synod, the Basel Missionary Society having unsuccessfully made some first attempts, beginning in the early Thirties. The Protestant Episcopal Church in particular, among whose workers Bishops Payne, Auer (formerly Basel missionary on the Gold Coast) and Ferguson (a Liberian) are pre-eminent, carries on active missionary work, and at many stations not without success, especially in the Cape Palmas district. Worthy of mention is also the small Lutheran mission station of Mühlenberg (Missionary Day), which combines religious work with industrial training and is self-supporting, and exerts an influence for good over the surrounding district.¹ In recent years the unstable William Taylor (p. 110) has kindled at many stations in various districts of Liberia a quantity of Methodist straw fire, which, however—as is shown by the marked fall in the statistics—does not seem to have burned long, as indeed this roving spirit had only set up here a temporary theatre for his romantic activity. The Liberia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church estimates the present number of its full church members there at 2667. The total number of the Christianised aborigines of Liberia cannot be determined, on account of the defectiveness of the statistics to hand. The literary productions in the native tongues are also scanty. Altogether one may reckon 20,000 as the number of Christians in Liberia.

158. The Ivory Coast, adjoining Liberia, is up till now a land without a mission. The Gold Coast, however, forms another extensive evangelical mission field, occupied in the west chiefly by the Wesleyan, in the east by the Basel Missionary Society. The former took up the work there in 1834, and had in the mulatto Freeman a capable pioneer. Its work lies chiefly among the Fanté, but in various places it has in a very unfriendly way intruded into the Basel field of labour. Of its 14 chief stations, the oldest and till now the most central is Cape Coast, but Elmina, west of it, and Anamabu, Winneba, and Akra, east of it, are also important. The majority of the workers are coloured. The total number of its church members, including the so-called "Junior Society," is 13,000, with 32,000 adherents and 13,000 scholars. The fluctuation in these figures proves, however, the revivalistic character of the Methodist work, which lays more stress on enthusiastic

¹ *Miss. Rev.*, 1895, 47.

awakening, to which the negro is so susceptible, than on sober deepening of the Christian life; hence the sudden forward and backward movements are so frequent. As yet only some of the Gospels have been translated into the Fanté language.

On the eastern side of the Gold Coast, after an unsuccessful attempt by the Moravians in the previous century, the Basel Mission in 1828 began a work which has proved as costly as it has been solid. This work extended by degrees among the tribes of the Ga, Chi, and Ashantee negroes, who number altogether over 350,000 souls, the Chi people being the most numerous. None of these nations had any writing, but the Basel missionaries Zimmermann and the linguistically gifted Christaller created a literature both in Ga and in Chi, and translated the Bible into both languages. While the Wesleyan Mission has kept mainly to the coast, the aim of the Basel Mission from the beginning has been the interior of the country, in which it has kept extending to the north, east, and west, and has now entered the Ashantee kingdom, in which the British occupation has put an end to the reign of terror which formerly prevailed. The principal part of its field of operation lies within British territory, but a small part beyond the Volta is German. It was only in the Forties that the mission, after overcoming great initial difficulties, slowly began to be successful, thanks especially to the courageous endurance of missionary Andrew Riis, and afterwards of Dieterle, and to the wise patience of the home directorate, which gradually transferred the mission field from the coast (Christiansborg) to the interior. Eleven chief stations arose one after another: Akropong, the first inland station; Abokobi, Odumase, and Ada in the Ga district; with Nsaba, Aburi, Begoro, Abetisi, Anum in the Chi district; to which have now been added Coomasee, which was occupied by the veteran Ramseyer, and Bismarekburg, the farthest outpost (besides Worawora) in the hinterland of German Togoland. In spite of numerous deaths of missionaries and repeated opposition of heathen chiefs and fetich priests, rising even to persecution,—in spite, too, of embarrassment by wars and colonial politics,—the thorough and sober work of the patient Basel missionaries has brought in harvests increasing in growing measure from decade to decade. At the end of 1857, after 30 years' labour, there were only 367 Christians; but in 1867 these numbered 1500, and in 1877, 3600; in 1877 there were 7500, and in 1899 the number had increased to 18,000, making the increase of the last decade alone greater than that of the first six decades put together. The Basel Mission has devoted special attention to its school system, which is splendidly

organised, from the simplest elementary schools up to the theological seminary, and provides at present for 5000 pupils. It has also educated capital native teachers and pastors (22). Excellent industrial results, too, have been attained, so that the mission has produced a very marked change even in respect to civilisation. For about a decade a medical mission has been conducted with ever-increasing success.

159. On the adjacent Slave Coast, beyond the Volta, the North German (Bremen) Mission has been at work since 1847 among the Evhe negroes, who number some 2 millions, but its progress has been very slow. Its limited forces have been decimated by constant sickness and death,—65 men and women having died in its service. Its field of labour is partly in British, partly in German (Togo) colonial territory, a circumstance which occasioned great difficulty in school administration on account of the language question; and it is divided into three districts, after the three older chief stations—Keta, Ho, and Amejovhe. A fourth chief station, Lome, has now been added. Around these centres 30 out-stations have been erected, chiefly by the Evhe people themselves, and these are manned by natives. After the first quarter of a century the Evhe church numbered only 93 members: to-day it has about 2500, and its 36 schools are attended by 1000 pupils. The people have been supplied with a small but good literature in their own tongue, and a third edition of the New Testament has already appeared. The introduction into the service of missionary deaconesses has exercised an educative influence of increasing importance, especially upon the female sex. The elevation of the life of the people, even in respect of culture, which has been brought about through the mission, is unmistakable. The small Wesleyan mission which labours beside the North German mission in Togoland (Little Popo) has only about 500 Christians, but now it seems likely to be carried on more energetically by German Methodists. In the adjoining kingdom of Dahomey, now a French possession, there is only an inconsiderable and rather neglected evangelical mission of the Wesleyans on the coast.

160. At the eastern end of the Slave Coast there is again an extensive evangelical mission field, the Lagos district, with its hinterland of Yoruba inhabited by the Aku people. Lagos, the "African Liverpool," is a British colony: Yoruba is regarded only as a Protectorate. Immense ruin is wrought here, as on the whole of the West Coast, by the gin which is imported in great quantities, and the scandalous life of the white people has terribly demoralised the Coast population proper. Thus the work of the mission, which here is in the hands of the

C. M. S. and the Wesleyan M. S., is seriously impeded, and the life of the Christian community is deteriorated to a rather low level.

The beginnings of the mission go back to the Thirties and Forties. A number of freed slaves, natives of Yoruba Land, who had become Christians, emigrated from Sierra Leone back to their native country. When they had begun the preaching of the Gospel here, missionaries, chiefly coloured, were sent after them. In this way arose the mission stations of Badagry (1845) and Lagos (1852) on the coast, and Abeokuta (1846), Ibadan (1852), and later Onde Ondo (1876), and others in the interior. Abeokuta especially has a romantic history. In 1820 the Mohammedan Fula people burst into Yoruba Land and devastated it; and from Ilorin as a centre they engaged in plundering expeditions and slave-hunts. Scattered remnants of the hunted population gradually gathered under the huge granite blocks on the river Ozun, and called their place of refuge Abeokuta—i.e. "Under the rock." In 1842 their numbers had grown to 50,000, which afterwards increased to 100,000 and even more. In this place Freeman, Townsend, and Crowther—who found his lost mother here—all laboured for a time, and, in spite of violent persecutions and repeated warlike invasions of the Dahomey tribe, there arose a flourishing Christian congregation, whose condition may of course have been greatly idealised in the time of the first enthusiasm, but which was able, even though greatly reduced, to maintain itself when a fresh outbreak of enmity on the part of the heathen drove out all the whites. There was afterwards, indeed, a new crisis, when the able black missionary Johnson became pastor, and exercised church discipline with perhaps too little discretion. Within the last few years the much persecuted and disorganised congregation has begun to recover both internally and externally. Of the numerous other inland stations, Ibadan especially has become known through its missionary, Hinderer.¹ The greatest number of Christians are at Lagos, where they are organised in different parishes, and where also the central schools are situated. The C. M. S. has unfortunately somewhat neglected this important mission field, owing to the demands made by its immense new undertakings in Central Africa. Now at least there have been appointed two black assistant bishops specially for Yoruba Land, who carry on diligent visitation, while Lagos stands under the jurisdiction of the English Bishop of Sierra Leone. The total number of Christians belonging to the

¹ A. Hinderer, *Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country*, 3rd ed., London, 1877.

C.M.S. is about 15,300, while the Wesleyans return more than 2600 members, with 10,000 adherents. The American (Southern) Baptists have about 1000 baptized. The results would have been greater if more steadfast attention had been given to the work, and if a larger number of European workers had been kept in the service. The quality of the Christianity there has also suffered from the same want of care; but, according to the most recent reports, an improvement has begun both inwardly and outwardly. The school education, too, has its defects, especially where it is perverted and denationalised by the almost exclusive use of the English language. On the other hand, the financial achievements are considerable. The Anglicans alone raise a yearly church contribution of £3500. On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary, a black merchant gave £1000 for the native pastorate, and promised a like sum for the erection of an industrial school. The whole Bible has been translated into the Yoruba language. On the coast, however, the language of the church seems to be English.

161. Another field of labour of the C.M.S. bordering on Lagos lies in the region of the Niger estuary and the so-called Oil Rivers, which with its hinterland is also a British Protectorate. Here work is carried on both on the coast and up the Niger. This field is of especial interest, from the fact that from the beginning it was wrought entirely by black missionaries, chiefly from Sierra Leone, and was governed by a black bishop, the well-known Samuel Crowther. The motive for pursuing this method was afforded partly by the deadliness of the climate for Europeans, and partly by a certain doctrinaire idealism, which regards the converted Africans as at once ripe for ecclesiastical and missionary independence and activity. It was this idealism that prematurely constituted the Sierra Leone congregation and a part of the Lagos and Yoruba congregations as independent native churches. The history of the Niger Mission, even more clearly than the history of these congregations, has proved the danger of this experiment. Not a few of the black pastors are already highly qualified in respect of intellectual education, and many of them are men of real piety; but still, with individual exceptions, they are lacking in ripeness of character, in firmness of discipline, in self-control, in steadfastness, and unfortunately also in humility. What an experienced and sober missionary said of the Oceanic native workers is in the main true of the African: "They do splendidly under good European direction, but they cannot be relied on yet as officers." The C.M.S., too, was unprejudiced enough, when the facts corrected its idealism, to appoint an English

clergyman as directing bishop of the Niger Mission on the death of Crowther in 1891.

The Niger Mission had its origin in the three voyages of exploration up the Niger which were undertaken in 1841, 1854, and 1857, in the first and third of which Crowther joined. The inhabitants of the river banks, who are divided into various tribes and speak various languages (Iju, Ibo, Igbara, and in the farthest north Nupe and Hausa), although on the lowest level of crude heathenism, were found to be willing to receive Christian teachers. And so, in 1857, the mission stations of Onitsha and Gbebe were planted, and in 1861 and the following years, Lokoja, Bonny, Brass, Asaba, Okrika, Ogbonoma, Obochi, and some others; and all were manned by black missionaries. Crowther was designated bishop in 1864, and later two coloured deacons, one of them his son, were given him as helpers. Along with triumphant advances and much encouraging success, there were also repeated reverses and retreats of the most painful kind, with warlike disturbances and ever-renewed outbreaks of the wildest heathenism, even to the extent of human sacrifice and cannibalism, as well as persecutions and complications with the whites. In the midst of all these difficulties the black missionaries did not always stand firm, although some held on bravely, and gross offences among them were exceptional. From 1880 onwards the indications multiplied that the black teachers and preachers were not quite equal to their task; and when, a little later, some English missionaries, excellent men though somewhat enthusiastic, were sent to the Upper Niger in order to extend the mission into the Soudan (an undertaking that completely failed in consequence of their death), it was patent that even in the Christian congregations things were not as they should be. It was not, however, till after the death of the aged Crowther that a thorough change in the management of the mission was brought into operation by the appointment of an English bishop and the sending out of some English missionaries. This brought about the separation of the large Delta congregations from the C.M.S. These Delta congregations, with Bonny as their centre, form a relatively independent native church, which has now received a coloured assistant bishop, and again stands in friendly relations with the C.M.S. Both here and in the two other mission centres, Onitsha and Lokoja, the work seems once more to be making a hopeful advance. May the work in Yoruba and in the Niger, now being carried on somewhat more energetically, not be again neglected for the recently planned and once more unfortunate Soudan Mission! The total number of negro

Christians, considerably reduced by the crisis of the last decade, is 1700, exclusive of the native church, which is not included in the mission census, and numbers perhaps 2000 members.

162. The Old Calabar bay, with its Efik-speaking population, forms the boundary of the British Protectorate, though still belonging to the Oil Rivers.¹ Here the Scottish United Presbyterians have been at work since 1846, following an impulse proceeding from their West Indian congregations. Encountering the very greatest hindrances from a superstitious as well as barbaric and demoralised heathenism, and suffering, too, from a deadly climate, the mission was only able very slowly to gain a foothold and attain success. After long struggles, especially with the chiefs,—“King” Eyo Honesty excepted, who was friendly to the missionaries from the beginning,—they succeeded in the course of decades in securing the abolition of sacrifices for the dead, twin-murder, the burial of living infants with the corpse of the mother, the poison-bean ordeal, and similar inhuman customs. With great diligence the missionaries (Waddell, Goldie, Anderson) mastered the Efik language, speedily set about translation of the Bible, erected schools, and gained helpers from among the natives. At three stations on the Calabar estuary, in the Efik towns proper, there gradually arose small congregations, and in the Eighties a venture could at last be made up the Cross River into the interior. At present there are 8 chief stations and 10 out-stations, at which there are altogether over 600 communicants; and towards 1000 pupils attend the schools, the chief institute at Duke Town being also an industrial school. The real success of this faithful and patient mission, however, goes far beyond this humble statistical result. It has exerted an influence for morals and civilisation which has broken the power of the old heathen terrorism, and has laid a solid foundation for the future Christianising of the tribes within its sphere.² On the most easterly of the Oil Rivers, the Qua Ibo, there is a young offshoot of the Old Calabar mission, with two stations (70 communicants), occupied by missionaries sent out by Grattan Guinness; these stations were opened on the invitation of the Scottish Presbyterians.³

163. The mission of the English Primitive Methodists on

¹ [The Protectorate is now known as Southern Nigeria.—Ed.]

² Goldie, *Calabar and its Mission*, Edin. 1890. Dickie, *Story of the Mission in Old Calabar*, Edin. 1896.

³ [Beyond furnishing information and advice at its initiation, the Presbyterian mission has no connection with the Qua Ibo one.—Ed.]

Fernando Po, the island lying south of Calabar, is conducted with but small forces, and is much hindered by the opposition of the Spanish officials. It has about 150 communicants.

On the other hand, there is a hopeful and flourishing mission in the German colony of the Cameroons, next to Old Calabar, where the region of the Bantu negroes begins. So long ago as 1845 the English Baptists from Fernando Po, under Saker,¹ a missionary of great linguistic ability and practical enterprise, began a work here, which, though it had no considerable numerical result, yet rendered valuable services in preparing for the future. With the German occupation in 1884 there arose all sorts of misunderstandings, in consequence of which the Baptists ceded to Basel their Cameroon mission field, which had been rather neglected, especially since the commencement of their Congo Mission; the Basel Society having also been requested by friends in Germany to begin a mission in their colony. Unfortunately the Basel Mission could not retain hold of the Baptist congregations: particularly the severe discipline of the German Mission occasioned their separation. At present they possess two chief stations and numerous out-stations, with altogether some 2000 adherents, some of whom form free congregations, while others are under the superintendence of German Baptist missionaries. The relations between them and the Basel people have now become tolerably friendly. In an astonishing way, though with great sacrifice of human life, the Basel missionaries have succeeded, by virtue of their solid method of working, in founding 9 chief stations and over 100 out-stations, not only in the Cameroon basin among the Dualla (Bethel, Ponaberi), but also northward up the Wuri and Mungo Rivers as far as Nyasoso and Bakundu, southward on the Sannaga (Lobethal), and westward as far as the Cameroon Mountains (Buea). At these stations they have already gathered 2600 baptized Christians in congregations, organised an extensive school system with over 3300 scholars, and have won a goodly body of native helpers. In literary work, too, the Basel missionaries have already been very diligent. Saker's translation of the Bible into Dualla has just been republished after being revised. In the southern part of the Cameroon region, in Batanga Land, there are 7 stations of the American Presbyterians, who have been at work in some cases from 1875, and in others from 1893. Under the pressure of French colonial intolerance, they were compelled to limit their old work on the Gaboon and the Ogowe, and to hand part of it over to the Paris Missionary Society. Their congregations in

¹ Underhill, *Alfred Saker*, London, 1884.

the German Cameroons are at present composed of 2000 Christians.

164. The older mission fields of these American Presbyterians are on the Gaboon River and Corisco Island. The great moral corruption of the Mpongwe negroes there, the rivalry of the Roman Catholics, and the intolerant colonial policy of the French, seriously hindered the progress of the work, notwithstanding all the faithfulness of the workers. The greatest success was attained on the Benito and Ogowe Rivers. Including the 2 stations handed over to the Paris Missionary Society, there are in French Congo 6 evangelical chief stations with altogether some 1600 church members. The whole Bible has been translated into the Mpongwe language.

165. The epoch-making exploration of the whole course of the Congo by Stanley (1876-77),¹ which was followed by the establishment of the Congo Free State—a hundred times as large as Belgium—and by the new era of African colonial politics, opened a new western door of entrance into the interior of Africa, which, especially since the completion of the railway up to Stanley Pool, gives access to an unobstructed way almost as far as the region of the East African Lakes. The opening of this wide door acted immediately as a mighty missionary signal, and a whole series of missionary undertakings were begun, which, however, at the outset were divested of steadiness and solidity by the restless haste to spread as quickly as possible a great network of mission stations over huge tracts of country. The Roman Church had already in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries carried on in the old Portuguese Congo domain a mission that had a great reputation on account of its outward success. This had, however, long lain in ruins, because it had been conducted in a way so unevangelical that it must be described as a caricature of the mission of the Middle Ages. In San Salvador, the capital of this old Congo domain, the English Baptists from the Cameroons began a mission in 1879, and they had the honour of being the pioneers of the now so very widespread evangelical missions of the Congo. They were induced to undertake this work by Mr. Arthington, a rich Englishman, who was a very liberal, though often eccentric, friend of missions, who cherished a special fondness for mission ships, and was untiringly urging new missionary undertakings in fields hitherto unoccupied. The first journey of exploration was undertaken by the Cameroon missionaries, Comber and Grenfell; the

¹ Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, London, 1877. *The Congo and the Founding of the Congo Free State*, London, 1885.

second, carried out by Bentley and Crudgington, led at the beginning of the Eighties to the founding of the first Congo station proper. Induced especially by Arthington's gift of a mission ship, to which he afterwards added a second, the missionaries pressed steadily up stream, and in a comparatively short time laid down 9 chief stations, some of them at great distances from each other, up to a point beyond the equator and close to the Stanley Falls. Led away, perhaps, by the mission ships and by the love of travel and exploration which characterised Grenfell in particular, this mission has developed a spirit of unrest which has interfered with steady station work, and which is chiefly to blame for the smallness of the missionary result in proportion to the expenditure of force. There are so far only 400 church members, including those in San Salvador, who make up fully the half. According to report, the period of the founding of new stations has now at last come to an end.

Almost simultaneously with the English Baptists, Grattan Guinness, the founder of the East London Institute, began a Congo or Livingstone Inland Mission, whose name declares its kinship with the China Inland Mission. He also with undue haste laid down too many stations, which in repeated instances had to be given up again, and pressed on too rapidly as far as the equator. A great number of men and women, quite 50 in number, were sent out in six years, without sufficient preparation for a work which was not sufficiently prepared for them. After great sacrifices of life, the mission, which had grown too large for its founder, was fortunately taken over by the American Baptist Missionary Union, under whose management it is now prospering. At present it embraces 8 principal stations. The great majority of the 2000 church members gathered up to this time belong to the two stations on the Lower Congo, Banza Manteke and Lukunga.

When Guinness's stations were given over to the American Baptists, the station of Mukimbungu, on the Lower Congo, was left independently to some missionaries belonging to the Swedish Missionary Alliance. Since that time this Swedish mission has extended to 4 stations, which, however, are prudently concentrated in a somewhat limited field. This concentration, combined with the faithful work done at the stations, has had as a result the founding of hopeful congregations, with about 1400 communicants, who exert a considerable influence on the heathen around them. In 1886, Grattan Guinness, for the second time, founded, by the agency of John Mackitrick, a Congo mission which has cost much sacrifice; it is situated beyond the equator, among the wild

tribe of the Balolo, who live on the basin of the Lulongo, a tributary on the left of the Congo south of its great bend (Balolo Mission). At the 7 stations which have been laid down up to the present time, real success seems not yet to have been attained, notwithstanding the number of men and women workers who have been sent out, and of whom 23 have died. A mission steamer is used by this mission.

The former Government stations occupied by W. Taylor on the right bank of the Lower Congo and on Stanley Pool, where his boastful plans of self-supporting missions, of which he wished to establish 1000 in Africa, have come to almost total wreck, appear now to have been entirely given up. There is little news of the quite solitary mission of the American Southern Presbyterians in the Kasai region, which has since 1891 been stationed in Luebo, not far from Luluaburg. Nor can much be reported of the achievements of the International Missionary Alliance, which is at work at 9 stations, of the Adventists, or of the Seventh-day Baptists. Besides these 9 societies, with together over 100 missionaries, exclusive of women, there are also on the Congo individual free missionaries, as they are called, of whose work one hears only occasionally.

What presents a special difficulty to the young missions in the Congo is—apart from a method that is in many respects unsound, and the frequent change in the mission staff occasioned by the deadly climate—the depth of heathenism which is met with almost everywhere, and the inhuman cruelties practised directly and indirectly by the officials of the Congo Free State, which very greatly embitter the feelings of the population towards the whites. The difficulties of language, too, are very considerable. Even the eminent achievements of the English Baptist Bentley and of the Swede Westlind are only the first attempts at the opening up of some of the Congo languages. The unwise beginning of missions almost simultaneously among many tribes speaking quite different languages, has set linguistic problems for the solution of which especially the poorly educated missionaries of the Guinness and Alliance kind have not shown themselves competent. In all the missions referred to, the aim from the outset is to make the native congregations themselves take the chief share of the work of Christianisation, in order to make the mission as little as possible dependent on the white staff, of whom so high a percentage fall victims to the climate, and that only too often in the first years of residence on the Congo. This method, altogether right in principle, is in practice caricatured through excessive haste, when natives, still wholly immature as

Christians, as repeatedly happens, who themselves do not yet understand the most elementary truths of the Gospel, are employed as evangelists, and when, nevertheless, too sanguine hopes are built on the very bungling work of these young evangelists. When one takes into account the shortness of the time, the frequent deaths and the consequent interruption of work, the difficulties of language, the deep religious and moral degradation of the people, and the numerous scandals occasioned by the whites, the 10,000 Christians and the 6000 scholars who have been gathered up till now are by no means contemptible first-fruits, and give assurance of a larger harvest in the future. Besides this, however, a great influence on the side of morality and civilisation has already been exerted which cannot be statistically registered. It is still, of course, a very elementary Christianity that is found in the young congregations, but there are not wanting individual proofs that it has already shown its life-transforming power. There has been heroic self-sacrifice on the part of the numerous missionaries who have found their graves on the Congo,—the family Comber, for example, six members of which have given up their lives,—and when the natives are saying of these men, “How they must love us, to die for us!” there is justification for the hope that these many wheat-corns laid in the Congo earth will bear fruit.

166. In the Portuguese colony of Angola, lying south of the Congo, there are, besides the Baptist Mission in Salvador, two other evangelical missions. (1) The W. Taylor Mission in Loanda has 7 stations in the river region of the Kuansa. These were to become the model self-supporting stations, but they seem to have as little success as the Congo stations. Like its method, its reports are also exaggerated, and the actual result of these missions, set agoing with so much boasting, is very inconsiderable. This mission is now in the hands of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, which has reduced it to 5 stations and 6 industrial schools, and is conducting it, it is to be hoped, in a more enlightened manner. (2) The work begun by the American Board in 1881 in the kingdom of Bihé, with 4 stations and diligent literary and educational work, is much more solid; and yet the numerical result of at present about 1250 Christians has been very slowly attained.

167. A pious free missionary, Arnot, belonging to the Plymouth Brethren, began an independent mission in 1886 in the kingdom of Garenganze or Katanga, which is reckoned in the Congo State, eastward of the Portuguese territory, between the Lualaba and the Lufira, which unite and fall into the

Upper Congo. This mission, with 15 missionaries, has occupied 5 mission centres from Bihé to Lake Mweru, and has begun to gather small congregations. The most hopeful work is that on Lake Mweru. Arnot himself lives at present as an invalid in England.

SECTION 2. SOUTH AFRICA

168. The second great, and very predominantly evangelical, mission field of the Dark Continent is South Africa. By the term we understand that whole part of Africa, from Cape Town in the south, that is bounded northwards by the Cunene river on the west, and by the Zambesi on the east.

Besides the Bantu negroes, split up in their numerous tribes, we encounter here a population quite distinct in kind, which has probably been the genuine South African population, but to-day consists only of remnants, some of which are very degraded, the Hottentots (Nama) and their kinsmen the Bushmen. In addition, South Africa is inhabited by a steadily increasing number of white immigrants, who are debarred from the West Coast and its hinterlands by the climate. If the mingling of the different races and tribes of the coloured people is itself great, the white element also adds considerably to the half-breed population. The white population, which numbers now at least 700,000, by reason of its superior civilisation and its increasing hold on the land, has the industrial power every year more and more in its own hands, as it also already possesses, or is striving to attain, political dominion over the natives. When these facts are considered, it becomes evident that an ethnographical, national, and social decomposition of the native population is going on with irresistible necessity; and thus the attainment of the aim of missions, the founding of independent national churches, is either rendered quite impossible or is at least made very difficult. This decomposition has not indeed been able as yet to suppress the native languages, but their domain is crumbling away more and more with the advance of Dutch and English, and in this way, too, the melancholy process of denationalisation is being hastened. The rule of the Christian civilised powers might be made a great blessing for the education of the natives in civilisation, and also indirectly for their Christianisation, if it were exercised with justice, philanthropy, and fatherly care for their welfare. Such blessing has not been entirely wanting, but, unfortunately, in place of these virtues of colonial government, there is found more and more the most inconsiderate oppression, the policy of which is to make the native a slave of the white intruders. Almost greater difficulties

than those due to the power of heathenism, which is not yet by any means everywhere broken, are now in store for the mission in South Africa in the manifold problems connected with the race question. These may be expected to lead to many a struggle yet, not only between blacks and whites, but also between the white despots and the missionaries, who feel called on, as the guardians of the natives, to represent their interests in so far as these are bound up with the work of Christianisation. This work in South Africa is not yet done, but still among not a small number of tribes Christianity has already become such a force that the time is not far distant when its victory will be universal. Among the coloured population of South Africa, numbering about $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions, there are to-day perhaps 575,000 Christians,¹ under the care of some 30 missionary societies, English, German (with 120,000 baptized), Dutch, French, Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, and American. Everywhere native helpers have been educated who give assistance in church and school; but their subordinate social standing prevents the native pastors from enjoying the same respect as the Europeans, although there are not wanting commanding individual personalities. It is indeed the case that, within recent times especially, a stronger feeling of independence prevails among the black pastors, with which vanity has not seldom something to do, but then this leads at most to separations, and not to the founding of national churches of matured independence. The "African Methodist Episcopal Ethiopian Church," with a pretended membership of 5000, of which the black American Bishop Turner (p. 111) boasts himself the founder, is probably more rhetoric than fact, and seems now, after occasioning much confusion among the discontented elements in the different missions, to be in process of collapse as a result of its chief leader, Dwane, having gone over to the Anglican Church. The coloured pupils will number over 90,000; but at present the mission schools, although receiving in the British colonies a Government grant, are not in favour with the white Afrianders, who grudge the natives an education going beyond the scantiest elementary acquirements, and would like best of all to have them only ignorant labourers. Literary works, especially translations of the Bible, exist in all the native languages of South Africa, even in those which have been brought to the point of extinction by Dutch and English. What consequences the unhappy South African War will have for missions cannot

¹ The statistics of the separate missionary societies do not exhaust the number of native Christians, which is here summed up in accordance with the Government census.

yet be foreseen. In the first instance, it has exercised a very disturbing and demoralising influence.

169. In the present German South-West Africa, through which passes the boundary between the Negroes and the Hottentots, and which stretches from the Cunene to the Orange River, Rhenish missionaries have been at work since the Forties, first in Nama Land, then in Herero Land, and recently also in Ovambo Land. In the last they work in company with agents of the Finnish Missionary Society, who settled down in 1870 at the invitation of the Rhenish missionaries, and have gathered at 3 stations small Christian congregations with 900 baptized members. In Nama Land, on both sides of the Orange, the London Missionary Society, which has now withdrawn, opened up the way with German missionaries from Jänicke's school, among whom Schmelen is especially outstanding; in Herero Land the Rhenish missionaries (Kleinschmidt, Hugo Hahn, and Brinker) were the pioneers. It has been a laborious work of patience that the missionaries have done in these countries, industrially so poor,—a work made difficult by the great inconstancy of the Hottentots and the strong opposition of the Herero, as well as by the entanglements of war,—and more than once in Herero Land the workers were on the point of withdrawing. But German fidelity at last carried the day. Now the whole of this great region from the Orange River to beyond Walvisch Bay, far into the interior of Great Nama Land and Herero Land, and even up to Ovambo Land, is covered with a network of 23 chief stations and 20 out-stations, the most important of which are, in Nama Land, Warmbad, Bethanien, Keetmannshoop, and Rehoboth: and in Herero Land, Otjimbingue, Okahandja, and Windhuk, the seat of the German Government. All the points that could be occupied have been made mission centres, and the whole population, including even the downtrodden Bergdamra, have been brought under the educative and civilising influence of Christianity, although the total of baptized Christians has only reached 11,000. Unfortunately, the peace restored by the overthrow of Hendrik Witbooi has repeatedly been disturbed by the rising of other tribes. The great loss of cattle caused by the rinderpest perhaps marks the beginning of a new industrial era.

170. The chief mission field of South Africa is Cape Colony, which with its annexes (British Kaffraria, 1865; Griqualand, West and East; Transkei, 1877 and 1872; Tembu Land and Bomvana Land, 1885), had at the census of 1891 a population of about 1,150,000 coloured people, among whom were 392,000 Christians, who have now increased far above 400,000. In the

west and south-west of the Cape Colony the Hottentots are in the majority, while the Kaffirs dominate the east. Now, indeed, hardly any pure Hottentots exist, except perhaps in Great Nama Land; their place is taken by a population that should be called a mixed rabble rather than a mixed people, being composed of crosses between Hottentots, Bushmen, Whites, Malays, and negroes of various tribes. It has lost all original nationality, and to some extent even its language, which has been supplanted by a corrupt Dutch mingled with scraps of English. Even the Koranna, who live far inland in the Orange Free State on the Orange and Vaal Rivers, have, like the Griqua, become almost a bastard people. The Kaffirs in the east of the colony, even though not pure, have kept themselves far more free from mixture. Their chief tribes are the Xosa, Pondo, Mpondomise, Tembu, and Fengu (or Fingu). Of the remaining Kaffir tribes, there are also Bassuto in the northern districts. In the case of all these Kaffirs, too, political independence has been completely broken; but yet they stand on a much higher level socially and industrially than the mixed Hottentot population of the west, while at the same time Christianity has hitherto not found among them so much acceptance as among the latter.

The immigrant white population consisted originally of Dutch and French refugees, who gradually became blended together as the African Boers. Later there came in increasing numbers Englishmen and also Germans. Between the Dutch and English elements there has developed more and more a political opposition, which at a former time expressed itself in the founding of independent Boer States, and has now led to new complications in a melancholy war. This opposition, however, does not hinder Dutch and English colonists, who in common style themselves *Africanders*, from being at one in the policy of oppressing the natives. This policy is as old as South African colonisation, and forms a dark chapter in the history of colonial politics, which, wherever we turn, is so rich in bloody and dirty pages. In the south and west of the colony the oppression was carried through violently enough, indeed, but still without any actual wars, while in the east bloody Kaffir wars have repeatedly been waged. In spite of all the successes of missions, even in regard to civilisation,—in spite, too, of many endeavours on the part of individual well-disposed colonists and officials,—the abolition of the old racial enmity between the white and the coloured elements has not yet been attained; it is still to-day a burning flame, and there is little prospect of the attainment in the future of that which has been attempted in vain in the past. The incor-



poration of the coloured Christians into the white congregations, although it takes place in isolated cases, is a very unlikely solution of the problem of the formation of the South African Mission Church.

171. Apart from sporadic endeavours to gain some natives to Christianity, put forth by some preachers of the Dutch Colonial Government, which held South Africa till the beginning of the nineteenth century, the first proper missionary attempt was made among the Hottentots by the Moravian Brother, Georg Schmidt. He settled at Bavianskloof in 1737, but so soon as 1744 he was under the necessity of leaving the country, after he had succeeded in baptizing some first-fruits of his labour.

It was 1792 before the Moravians could take up again the broken thread, and then—especially under the British colonial rule, which took the place of the Dutch in 1806—they succeeded, largely through the wise guidance of Hallbeck, their missionary president, in laying down, one after another, 9 stations in the south-west corner of the colony, at which altogether 10,500 Christians have now their home. Of these stations, among which Gnadenthal, with its influential school for native helpers, is pre-eminent, part are institutes, *i.e.* site and land are the purchased property of the mission; and part are grant plots, *i.e.* site and land are put by the Government under the management of the mission for the good of the natives. Far distant from this western region the Moravians have another field of work in the east, among the Kaffirs on the Kei River and throughout Kaffraria. This field, which, owing to the different kind of population, bears quite a different stamp, is occupied at 10 chief stations, Silo being the mother station, at which there are 6300 Christians. While the work in the west now consists chiefly of the care of congregations, in the east it is still mainly that of a heathen mission.

172. In 1799 the Moravians were followed by the London Missionary Society, whose pioneers were the two Dutchmen, Van der Kemp and Kicherer. In contrast with the quiet work of the Moravians, that of the London missionaries bore a more romantic, but at the same time a more agitated stamp, especially on account of its interference in the movement for the emancipation of the slaves, in which Dr. Philip above all played a leading part.¹ After a fruitless attempt among the Kaffirs, the London missionaries directed their missionary activity, with varying success, mainly to the Bushmen, Hottentots, and mixed people. The most persevering

¹ Philip, *Researches in South Africa*, London, 1828.

work among them was done by Schmelen, and Moffat also was engaged in it for a time, and made a great sensation by his visit to Cape Town with the converted outlaw Africaner. Afterwards Moffat turned his attention to Griqua Land and then to the Bechuana farther north, among whom he worked many years in Kuruman; and, along with Livingstone, his son-in-law, he gave to the London Mission its expansion as far as Lake Ngami and up the Zambesi. He translated the whole Bible into the Bechuana language, and erected a seminary for natives at Kuruman; but his romantic hopes were not all fulfilled.¹ At the end of the Fifties the London Missionary Society, in accordance with its independent principles, set free from connection with it both its western and its eastern congregations in Cape Colony, and formed them into a Congregational Union. This Union has now close on 50 congregations with 10,000 communicants and 35,000 adherents, and is reported to be in a satisfactory state as to church concerns, and to be also displaying missionary activity. One learns, however, little about them.² Soon after that time, too, the society, for some unintelligible reason, sold the institute properties to natives; and since the experiences connected with this sale were particularly unfortunate in Hankey, in the vicinity of Port Elizabeth, that place alone is still continued as a mission station. It has 350 communicants and 1500 adherents.

173. The Wesleyans were third in order in beginning missionary work at the Cape. After a stirring but inconsiderable and temporary work in Little Nama Land, they spread themselves, under the capable leadership of their superintendent, B. Shaw, over a great part of the colony, much more, however, in the east than in the west. Of the 9 western congregations, with 6000 Christians, the most important are those in Cape Town and Stellenbosch, while their eastern colonial field includes, in three districts (Grahamstown, Queenstown, and Clarkebury), 70 congregations or stations, with over 90,000 baptized, the congregations in Clarkebury being almost entirely composed of Kaffirs. The schools, including the boarding-schools, are numerous and well attended. Since 1832 the Wesleyan Church in South Africa has had an independent organisation, and, as the Wesleyan Methodist South African Missionary Society, carries on a mission independently of the London administration, with the

¹ Moffat, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa*, 1st ed., 1842. *The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat*, by their Son, J. S. Moffat, New York, 1866. Moffat returned to England in 1870, and died in 1883, aged 88.

² According to the Government census of 1891, 67,048 coloured Christians are returned as belonging to the Congregational Union and the London Missionary Society.

aid of many native workers. The methods of this mission are emotional, but not always solid and discreet.

The Rhenish Missionary Society has its Cape field of labour, which it entered in 1829, exclusively on the West Coast, from Stellenbosch, near Cape Town, up to the Orange River, with the exception of its station at Carnarvon (formerly Schietfontein), which lies a little to the east in the Karree Mountains. The nearly 16,000 Christians who are under its care form 10 splendid congregations, 6 of which (Worcester, Stellenbosch, Wupperthal, Sharon, Steinkopf) number between 1500 and 3900 souls, and all of them are financially independent. The church life in these congregations, of which some are institutes, is very active, but the moral life leaves much to be desired. Notably the old national sins, drunkenness and impurity, are the cause of much trouble to the missionaries, as they are in other parts of Cape Colony.

174. The first missionaries of the Berlin (I.) Missionary Society landed in South Africa in 1834, but they began their work among the Koranna, between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers, in the region that became afterwards the synodal circle of the Orange Free State, although not entirely within the territory of the Boer Republic so named. In Cape Colony proper they first established themselves in 1838 in the south-west, and, to begin with, in conjunction with the South African Missionary Society, founded by Van der Kemp, but at that time somewhat crippled: the first station was Pniel, and Amalienstein was added after a decade. Alongside of stirring revivals, which are characteristic of the first period of South African missions in general, unprofitable disputes were always recurring throughout this initial period, and they only ceased when the connection with that society was broken off. There arose gradually 12 Cape stations, which now make up two synods—Cape Colony in the west and Kaffraria in the east, with together 7000 Christians. In the latter, which at an earlier date had much to suffer in the repeated Kaffir wars, Dr. Kropf rendered noteworthy service in connection with the translation of the Bible into the Kaffrarian tongue. Apart from these two synods, there are two other Berlin stations in the north of the present Cape Colony—Kimberley and Pniel, which are incorporated in the Orange Free State Synod; the reason being that, when towards the end of the Sixties diamonds were found in the hitherto desert region between the Vaal and the Orange, the Colony, in spite of every protest on the part of the Orange Free State, annexed the whole district under the name Griqua West. In the first decades of the century the London Missionary Society had maintained a flourishing mis-

sion here in the midst of several thousand mixed Hottentots, who had adopted the collective name of Griqua, but afterwards, in consequence of the scattering of the population, it was almost entirely given up. From 1870 onwards, however, the diamond district became the scene of a great confluence of people, coloured as well as white, and Kimberley especially became an important mission centre. This rapidly increasing locality was occupied in 1874 by the Berlin missionaries, taking as their base the old Koranna station, Pniel, which likewise lies within the domain of the diamond fields; but not, indeed, by them alone, for the Wesleyans, the Congregationalists, the Dutch Reformed Church, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel are at work here among the coloured working population, composed of many various elements and only partially residential, and numbering in all about 90,000. It is evident that such a crowd of human beings, always coming and going, drawn together only by the pursuit of money, and brought into contact with many doubtful white elements, a contact full of temptations, presents a very hard soil for missions. Still, the direct and indirect result of the mission work is by no means inconsiderable.

175. Through the development of the colonial conditions within Cape Colony, it has come about that two Protestant churches have to a certain degree gained the position of State churches,—the Dutch Reformed Church, with at present about 230,000, and the Anglican, with about 70,000 white members. The former owes its standing to the former Dutch colonial rule, the latter to the present colonial rule of Britain. Till far on in the nineteenth century, the Dutch Reformed Church, with the exception of individuals of missionary zeal, Van Lier, Vos, and some pious laymen, maintained an indifferent, if not adverse, attitude to the Christianising of the natives. The South African Society for the Promotion of the Extension of Christ's Kingdom, which Van der Kemp originated, never called forth any fresh missionary work. It was only when new spiritual life awoke in the Reformed Church of the Cape Colony, chiefly through the accession of some Scottish pastors (particularly the Murrays) to its service, that a missionary spirit began, about the middle of the century, to be aroused, which led the church to a growing activity in missions, not merely in the Colony but also beyond its bounds in the Free State, the Transvaal, and on Lake Nyassa. Within the colony, besides missionaries proper, there are many pastors of congregations who are engaged in the work of Christianising the coloured people, a method of conducting missions which is very natural in the present state of things in Cape Colony.

The number of natives belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church far exceeds the 25,000 or so who are gathered at the 30 mission stations. The Government census of 1891 give 77,693 coloured Christians as belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church.

176. Of the ten dioceses which the Anglican Church has in South Africa, three belong to Cape Colony—Cape Town, Grahamstown, and St. John's (Kaffraria). All the South African bishoprics are connected with the High Church Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which began its mission work there as early as 1820, in connection with the British occupation of the colony, but did not prosecute it in comprehensive fashion until thirty years later, under the energetic leadership of Bishop Gray, who was afterwards the Metropolitan. Its church and mission work being so indistinguishable, it is difficult, particularly in the diocese of Cape Town, to determine what share falls to the latter. In any case the share is considerable, but on account of the deficiency of the statistics the number of coloured people at present under the care of the Anglican "priests" cannot be determined with certainty: according to the Government census, it is 69,269. Much careful attention is given to the education of native teachers and pastors, and among the numerous stations, some of which have large congregations, St. Matthew's (Keiskamahuk), in the diocese of Grahamstown, is especially worthy of mention on account of its famous industrial school. St. Mark's, in Transkei, with its congregation of about 3000 souls, has also won a good name through Masiza, its excellent native pastor.

177. To avoid separating too much the work of the individual societies at work in Cape Colony, we have already repeatedly passed from the western to the eastern part of the colony, because the different evangelical missionary societies have unfortunately not confined themselves to separate spheres, but work in a very large degree interlacing through one another, and in consequence, in a survey of their labours, a certain confusion is quite unavoidable. If our arrangement be purely geographical, we must repeatedly recur to the same societies; and if the grouping be according to societies, we have to make leaps geographically. From this point we have to do with societies that have their field only in the east of the colony. As has been already indicated, mission work proper predominates here much more than in the west, where it is already receding behind church work, or is being carried on in conjunction with it. In the east, too, the native population is considerably mixed, but the Kaffir type predominates, and the national decomposition and social deterioration are

not so far advanced as in the west. In consequence, the subjection to the foreign colonial power has here occasioned much greater struggles than in the west, and in particular the three great Kaffir wars, which play such a bloody rôle in the colonial history of South Africa, have not only been a hindrance to missions, but in many places have had on them a very destructive influence.

In addition to the Moravians, the Congregational Union, the Berlin Missionary Society, the Dutch Reformed and Anglican Colonial Churches, and the Wesleyans, the other agencies are chiefly two Scottish missions, which are at work in the eastern part of Cape Colony among the Kaffirs, the Free Church of Scotland, and the United Presbyterians, now amalgamated as the United Free Church of Scotland. The former entered on the work begun by the Glasgow Missionary Society in 1820, and extended it to a South and North Kaffir Mission on the two sides of the Kei River. It now has in both together 10 chief stations and many out-stations, with about 8000 communicants and catechumens and 7000 scholars. Besides the stations of Cunningham and Burnshill, which have the largest congregations (1300 communicants each), the chief centres of this solid mission, the influence of which goes far beyond the number of those baptized, are the two famous educational and industrial institutes—Lovedale,¹ in the southern Fingoe district, and Blythswood, in the northern. The former is under the approved leadership of the eminent Dr. Stewart; the latter bears the name of Blyth, an English magistrate who gave £4500 (\$21,600) for the building of it, and who, by his just and humane treatment of the natives, so gained their affection that they erected also another special memorial of him.

The Scottish United Presbyterians, whose work also bears the stamp of great solidity, have their mission field likewise on both sides of the Kei River, where they occupy 13 chief stations and over 100 out-stations. The number of full church members, which is steadily increasing, amounts at present to over 4500, of whom it is reported to their honour that they not only pay the salaries of their own teachers and evangelists, but also take an active part in the extension of Christianity. At Emgwali Station there laboured from 1857 to 1871 the greatly blessed Tiyo Soga, the first ordained Kaffir pastor, who was as deeply grounded a Christian as he was a thoroughly trained theologian;² at present his son is engaged at Malan

¹ *Lovedale: Past and Present*, Lovedale, 1887. Stewart, *Lovedale, South Africa*, illustrated by 50 Views, Edin. 1894.

² Chalmers, *Tiyo Soga: a Page of South African Mission Work*, 2nd ed., Edin. 1873.

station in successful work as an ordained medical missionary.¹ To the two Presbyterian missions the census of 1891 ascribes 24,418 Christians.

The comparatively small Kaffir mission conducted by the English Primitive Methodists on the Upper Orange, and the two or three French Reformed and Apostolic congregations in Griqua Land East, must only be mentioned in passing. We must also merely name the missions of the Anglicans and Wesleyans, with perhaps 4000 Kaffirs baptized, in Pondo Land, which is not yet incorporated with the colony.

178. In the north, along the coast, the colony marches with Natal and Zululand, with a population together of 692,000 natives, exclusive of 53,000 imported coolies; the former a relatively independent British Crown colony, the latter also a British possession since 1887. The Zulu tribes who live here, and who are considerably different from the other Kaffirs, have sowed much bloody seed under their notorious chiefs, Chaka, Dingaan, Umselekasi, Ponda, and Cetewayo. Since the end of 1879 their power has been broken, but not the resistance of their hearts to the Gospel. The Zulu Kaffirs have formed up to the present time a difficult mission field, though under British rule they have been treated with the greatest forbearance,—perhaps with too much doctrinaire regard to their own law,—and have been left in possession of their own land, and on the whole have become prosperous. Witchcraft, superstition, polygamy, unchastity, immoderate beer-drinking, are now the chief hindrances to successful Christianisation. There are at present perhaps some 48,000 baptized coloured people in this region, and of these probably no more than half belong to the native Zulu population. And yet for some fifty years active missionary work has been carried on to an ever-increasing extent, with, it is true, numerous interruptions and repeated disasters. This difficult work among the Zulus is shared by American Congregationalists, South African Wesleyans, Norwegians, Swedes, the Berlin and Hermannsburg Societies, the Anglican, Scottish Free and Dutch Reformed Churches: only very recently the prospect has begun to be more hopeful.

The American Board, which made the beginning, has at 10 chief stations 3250 communicants and 14,000 adherents; the Wesleyans, who followed, have some 5500 communicants and 15,000 adherents at 18 stations, of which Edendale and Maritzburg are the most important. The Norwegian Missionary Society, with the small Schreuder Mission which separated from it, and the Swedish State church, have together

¹ [And a second son as an ordained missionary at Mount Frere.—Ed.]

at 23 stations perhaps 3000 Christians; the Berlin Society has 2500 at 6 stations; the Hermannsburg Mission has 5000 at 20 stations; the Hanoverian Free Church has 2700 at 8 stations; the Anglican Church in its two bishoprics—the well-known liberal Colenso was the first bishop in Natal—has perhaps from 4000 to 5000 Christians; the Scottish Free Church has almost 5000 baptized at 4 stations; while the Dutch Reformed Church, which leans on the Free Church, has only some hundreds. Lastly, mission work is also done by the Wesleyans and Anglicans among the 53,000 immigrant Indians in Natal, but with slight success (400 to 500 baptized).

179. In Swasiland, which borders on Zululand to the north, and has a population closely allied to the Zulus, missions first secured some footing about fifteen years ago, earlier attempts at settlement on the part both of the Berlin and the Hermannsburg Societies having proved futile. The Anglicans, who erected a separate bishopric here in 1891,—Lebombo, which includes also the Portuguese coast territory,—and the Wesleyans, have some stations, with together only a few hundred baptized. More successful is the work, likewise recent, of the free churches of French Switzerland in the Portuguese territory of Delagoa Bay, an offshoot of their mission in Valdezia in the north of the Transvaal, which is ten years older: both are among the same tribe of the Amatonga. In the Valdezia district, this mission, which is conducted by excellent missionaries, has about 1000 adult Christians, and in the Delagoa Bay or Lorenzo Marquez district there are 1500. Recently, however, the rising of the natives against the Portuguese, who in their distrust suspected the Swiss missionaries of taking the side of the natives, occasioned trouble, which has again, however, been composed. Farther north, in the part of Gasa Land now lying in British Rhodesia, the American Board has supported for some ten years a small and difficult mission, with up to this time only 2 stations, at which no congregations have yet been formed. Nevertheless an extension of the mission is contemplated from the Mashona Mountains to the ocean.

180. Before we turn from here farther west to Mashona Land, we must once more go back to the south, in order to reach the Zambesi through Bechuana Land by way of Basuto Land and the Boer States. North-west of Pondo Land and Griqua Land East, beyond the Kathlamba (Drakenberg) Mountains, we enter the high-lying Basuto Land, which since 1884 has been a British Crown colony. Its inhabitants form the southern branch of the Sotho negroes, who again are a variety of the Bechuana family, which extends to the west and north.

Expelled from their former eastern habitations by bloody wars, they gathered in the Twenties under their young chief, the brave and gifted Moshesh, at the mountain stronghold of Thaba Bosiu. This became the centre of a Basuto kingdom, which at a later time, in order to defend itself against the neighbouring Boers, placed itself under the protection of Britain. Under this benevolent protection, which has wisely left to the natives a great measure of self-government, and especially under the growing influence of Christianity, the nation has attained a considerable degree of civilisation and prosperity.

So early as the beginning of the Thirties, missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, who were seeking a field of work in South Africa, had come by a remarkable leading to Moshesh, who was anxious to get missionaries for his people, and the work which they began among them developed, after many difficulties had been overcome, to a gratifying success. Among the excellent missionaries to whom the French Basuto Mission owes this success, Arbousset, Casalis, and Mabile are especially prominent, the two last being also distinguished as the chief collaborators in the translation of the Bible into the Sotho language. At the 19 chief stations and 154 out-stations, of which Moriija, Hermon, Thaba Bosiu, and Thebana Morena are the most important, there are now 10,600 communicants and over 7700 catechumens. The congregations are well ordered, and the system of education, including higher education, is well organised, there being 150 schools with 10,000 pupils. A large number of efficient native helpers assist the missionaries in church and school, and the financial achievements of the Christians amount to £3000. In 1885 the Basuto church there, under the leadership of the heroic Coillard, began a mission in the midst of a distant isolated Sotho tribe on the Zambesi. This mission has been attended with very many troubles and hindrances: it has now 5 stations (Sesheke, Lealugi, Sefula), and after a long sowing in tears begins to yield a harvest of joy. The Anglican High Church Mission, in spite of all friendly protest, has since 1873 been pressing into the Basuto field of the Paris Missionary Society, where such good work has been done, and at its four stations there are some 500 communicants. Even more than by this mission, however, confusion and trouble have been caused by the hostile competition of Roman Catholic missionaries, who have at their eleven stations only some 700 or 800 baptized, and very few scholars.

181. West and north-west of British Basuto Land lie what were formerly the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, the

two Boer Republics which came into being after changeful political struggles. Among their coloured population the Bechuana predominate, and among these again, particularly in the Transvaal, the northern branch of the Basuto. In the Orange Free State, the natives, who are mingled with the Koranna and all sorts of impure breeds, are in a comparatively favourable position, since they are well treated by the Boers there, and are provided for in church and mission in connection with the congregations of the Dutch Reformed Church of the country.

In addition to this pastoral care on the part of the Dutch pastors, which embraces a great part of the coloured population, mission work has been carried on here since 1833 by the Wesleyans (now by their South African Conference) at some 10 stations, of which Thaba Nchu, with 15,500 adherents, is the largest; by the Anglican Church, which has had here since 1863 the bishopric of Bloemfontein, and has 2200 baptized; and by the Berlin Missionary Society, which has laboured since 1834 at Bethanien among the Koranna, who have, however, in later times been almost disappearing before the Bechuana. The Orange Free State Synod, in connection with the Berlin Mission, at present embraces 8 stations (5800 baptized), of which, however, those belonging to the diamond fields are situated in what is now Griqua Land West. Besides Bethanien, specially worthy of mention is Adamshoop, founded by Adam Oppermann, a coloured man.

182. Much less favourable than in the Orange Free State is the condition of the black people (Bechuana or Basuto) in the Transvaal, where their hard treatment became a tradition. In recent times the gold fever has come, to add moral temptation to oppression. The chief missionary work here is in the hands of two German missionary societies, both of which carry it on soberly and thoroughly,—the Hermannsburg Society since 1857, and the Berlin since 1859. The former, which was called in by the Boers on account of differences with the neighbouring London missionaries, has laid down one after another 26 stations in two circuits (Rustenburg and Morico), of which Saron has a congregation of nearly 4000 souls, Bethanien of 2800, and 4 others of over 2000 each; some of these stations, however, are situated to the west of the Transvaal in British territory. Altogether they represent a total of 43,300 Bechuana Christians, whose numbers are now being increased yearly by thousands. The Berlin Missionary Society, whose Basuto mission in the Transvaal has had an eventful origin and history, particularly under the Chiefs Maleo and Secucuni, has now at its 25 stations over 18,000

Christians, the great majority of whom belong to the South Transvaal Synod, in which the station of Bochabelo, founded by Merensky, is outstanding, with 3700 Christians; while in the thickly populated North Transvaal, in which are also included the two young Bonjai stations north of the Limpopo in Mashona Land, the hard soil has begun at some stations—Mphome, Medingen, Modimolle or Waterberg—to yield a richer fruitage. It was Knothe who did the chief pioneer work in this North Transvaal district, which is so rich in promise for the future. Among the Bapedi Christians, in what was once the kingdom of Secucuni, a separation unfortunately took place in 1890, which was favoured by missionary Winter; this led to the founding of a "Free National Church," a step which has occasioned much confusion. In the North Transvaal is also situated Valdezia (Spelonken), the little mission of the Swiss free churches, to which reference has already been made.

The work of, the Dutch Reformed and the Anglican Churches in the Transvaal is of little importance: the latter has here another bishopric, Pretoria; together they have perhaps 5000 native Christians. On the other hand, the English (not the South African) Wesleyans have a mission with numerous stations which extends throughout the whole Republic and Swasiland, and which is divided into three sections—Central, North-east, South-west. This mission is reported to have a membership of 8000, but it is not quite clear whether all of these are natives. Here, as almost everywhere, they intrude discourteously into the fields of other societies, while the maturity of their Christians and the education of their native helpers leave much to be desired. Their European missionaries, who are often changed, have for the most part only a superficial knowledge of the language of the natives.

183. Between the [former] Boer Republics and German South-West Africa there lies the very thinly populated British Bechuana Land, which consists in great part of the Kalihari Desert, and, to the north-east of it and directly north of the Transvaal, of Matabele Land and Mashona Land. As has been already remarked, there is a line of old stations of the London Missionary Society, with about 60 outposts, stretching through Bechuana Land as far as Lake Ngami and into Matabele Land. Moffat, who was in his time so greatly, perhaps too greatly, lauded, founded here as a centre the station of Kuruman, with a very costly Theological Seminary. North of Kuruman was Livingstone's field of missionary labour (Kolobeng, afterwards Molepolole), through whom the Christian chief Sechele, who, however, did not maintain his reputation, has won a world-wide

fame. The chief Khama, formerly at Shoshong, now at Phalapye, baptized by a Hermannsburg missionary, has also become famous, and is a more faithful and active Christian; he has displayed great energy, particularly in the struggle against the brandy pest. Unfortunately this old and once greatly extolled mission field of the L. M. S. has been much neglected, and the society has only lately begun again to devote some more attention to the half-ruined congregations. Hardly any progress seems to have been made within the last decades in the propagation of Christianity; at least, none is to be made out from the extremely scanty reports. The number of Christians may be about 10,000, 3500 being communicants. As on many another mission field, the London Society is here also lacking in patient persistence and educational wisdom: it does much pioneer work, but it builds up too little. The missions of the English Episcopal and the Cape Reformed Churches, and that of the Wesleyans in Bechuana Land, are but limited. So too in Matabele Land and Mashona Land, the Anglican, Wesleyan, Cape, and Berlin missions are still very much in their infancy. The despotic rule of warlike tyrants, and then the horrible turmoils which the occupation by the South African Chartered Company has brought with it, occasion hindrances which are hard to surmount. When at last quiet shall have been established, a more hopeful time for the work of missions may perhaps come.

SECTION 3. EAST AFRICAN ISLANDS

184. Before making our way farther to the north and into Eastern Central Africa, let us leave the mainland to make an excursion to the islands situated in the south-east. The oldest evangelical mission is to be found on the island of Mauritius, a British possession since 1810, and before then French, which has a population made up to the extent of two-thirds of imported Indian coolies. The language of ordinary intercourse, in consequence of the long French domination, is a corrupted French, and likewise almost a third part of the population continues from that time outwardly Catholic. The impulse to an evangelical mission was given in 1814 by the British and Foreign Bible Society, which was followed by the L. M. S. Lebrun, who was sent out by the latter society, succeeded in the course of decades of labour in gathering some congregations with several thousand members, and in the Seventies, when the L. M. S. withdrew from Mauritius, these were declared independent. The chief work is now done, under the supervision of the Anglican bishop of the island, by the two

societies of the Church of England, the C. M. S. confining itself to the imported Indians. Both societies devote special attention to their schools. There are altogether perhaps 4000 Christians in their care. Many, however, of those who have been baptized have returned to India. The mission does not seem to be carried on with the energy which is to be desired. Catholicism also predominates—a survival of the French occupation—in the neighbouring Seychelle Islands, which like Mauritius are now British, and which are inhabited by a small mixed population of East Africans and Creoles. There the two English Church missions do not yet make up 1000 members.

185. There is, however, a fruitful mission field, largely evangelical, on the French island of Madagascar, which exceeds in size the German Empire. It has a population of some 4 millions, allied to the Malays, in which the Hova and Sacalava are the most important tribes. In 1820 the London Missionary Society obtained a firm footing here, especially in Antananarivo, the capital. It gave special attention to educational work, which on account of its value for civilisation was encouraged by the eminent Hova prince, Radama I., who was recognised by the British as ruler of the whole island. Fortunately, a complete translation of the Bible had been prepared and two congregations of living Christians had been formed, when, in the middle of the Thirties, a long and severe period of persecution began under Queen Ranavalona I., who was hostile to foreigners and Christians. During its course many believers lost life, property, position, and freedom, but in spite of the expulsion of the missionaries it only contributed to the spread of Christianity. With this queen's death in 1861 the reign of terror ended, and religious freedom was secured under the short and troubled rule of her two successors, Radama II. and Queen Rosaherina, for whose favour French and British made rival claims. Then under Queen Ranavalona II., after her own conversion to evangelical Christianity, a mass-conversion set in from 1869 onward, especially in the central province of Imerina, from which it also spread southward over part at least of the province of Betsileo. In the more remote parts of the island, however, especially in the west and north, where the population was ill-disposed towards the ruling Hova tribe, Christianity found little entrance. This mass-conversion did not spring from motives purely religious. Although the queen did not desire to make her subjects Christians by force, yet many believed they must follow her example; and as there were not wanting over-zealous Government officials who represented the matter to the people as if the queen were ordering baptism, so these

considered the acceptance of Christianity to be their simple duty as subjects. Thus there came to be in a comparatively short time tens, even hundreds, of thousands of Madagascar Christians, of whom naturally the great majority were Christians only in name. The Christian world, however, was for some time intoxicated with joy at this unexpected movement, regarding it as entirely a mighty work of the Holy Spirit, the more so as the reports represented it in extravagant rhetoric as a new Pentecost. But, in any case, it was a result of the highest importance in missionary history. Almost as in a night a great evangelical national church was in being, and the mission directorate saw a problem set before it which demanded for its solution as much wisdom as devotion of energy. The number of missionaries was, it is true, increased, but, owing to a new and costly undertaking then being entered on at Lake Tanganyika, not nearly to the extent demanded by the crying necessity. Much attention, too, was given to the training of native helpers, but with not nearly the sobriety and thoroughness which were to be desired. Very soon, indeed, the missionaries were sobered by the actual condition of the new Christian masses, and began to sift them, but the discipline was far from being sufficiently energetic. And so the L. M. S. has only imperfectly succeeded in more deeply grounding in Christian knowledge and introducing into Christian life its 280,000 Christians, who are gathered in more than 1300 congregations, the less so as the greater number of its thousand and more native pastors were only in a scanty degree equal to this task. There were besides two other mistakes. Under the malign influence of its independent doctrine, it granted independence to the immature Madagascar congregations and pastors much too soon and in far too large a measure, and in particular it favoured the formation of a fully independent Byzantine Court-and-Palace Church, which has gathered more than 60,000 adherents. This church represented chiefly the Hova Government. This Christianised Government has of course done much good in legislation and social reform, but even since it became Christian it has practised much oppression, and because it failed to gain the attachment of the population of the island, it has indirectly paved the way for the Jesuit counter-mission, which since the French occupation has been at work at high pressure. So much for the situation created by the work of the L. M. S.

186. In addition to this society, three other missions took up the work in Madagascar,—the Quakers, the Anglican S. P. G., and the Norwegian Missionary Society. The Quakers or Friends, urged to the work by missionary Ellis in 1868, were

engaged in conjunction with the London missionaries at some stations in the south-west of the Antananarivo district, around which 15,000 Christians were gathered. Their work was more thorough than that of the Independents, and in particular their school and medical mission work was highly esteemed. The S. P. G., which entered the field in 1864, and even created a bishopric in Madagascar, had some 11,000 Christians under its care. The Norwegians, by friendly agreement with the London Mission, chose the Betsileo province as their field of labour. Their work is the most solid and the most hopeful in Madagascar, and their missionary administration at home and abroad is exemplary.

187. A third fateful period in the missionary history of Madagascar began in 1895 with the violent seizure of the island by the French. This occupation gave the Jesuits, who since the end of the Fifties had been forcing their way into the country, the opportunity they desired of turning the hatred felt by the fanatical French colonial politicians towards the British to account, in order to procure by skilful intrigue the systematic oppression of the evangelical missions. Under the watchword, "French is equivalent to Catholic," the religious liberty which was proclaimed with so much display of rhetoric has been set at defiance. Evangelical Christians and native pastors have been suspected as rebels, imprisoned, and put to death; many evangelical churches and chapels have been confiscated; and by the violent introduction of French, first as the language of instruction, and afterwards as only the chief matter of instruction, many evangelical schools have been ruined, not to speak of the numerous conversions wrought by violence and cunning among the terrorised people. In this critical situation the Paris Missionary Society, with brave determination and brotherly self-sacrifice, has come to the aid of its hard-pressed Madagascar co-religionists, by sending out French pastors and teachers, and it has succeeded, chiefly through two deputations, first Professor Krüger and then Director Boegner, not only in checking the persecution of the Protestants, but also in procuring for the non-French evangelical societies the same missionary liberty which it desired for itself. Along with 1200 schools, with about 62,000 scholars, the Paris Society has taken over a large number of the former congregations of the English Independents in the provinces of Imerina and Betsileo, about the half of the field they formerly occupied. There are now 9 principal stations, with a male and female staff of 26 missionaries and teachers, around which the society is concentrating its work of building up the church. While the work of the Anglicans and of the Quakers has suffered

only a little from the violent counter-mission of the Jesuits in the great colonial-political storm, and that of the Norwegians almost not at all (the number of their native Christians up to 1900 has risen even to more than 57,000), the congregations of the London Society have been decimated in a manner that is simply startling, and the Court church seems to have almost wholly disappeared. The London Society has scarcely the third of its old adherents; the annual report for 1900 gives only 20,216 church members and 37,500 adherents, and even if it may be supposed that thousands of those who have fallen away will yet return, still the loss is enormous,—a manifest indictment of the superficial missionary work of the Independents! What is the number of evangelical Malagash belonging to the district of the Paris Society can only be approximately computed, since, as a matter of prudence, statistics will only be published when the ecclesiastical conditions have been in some measure consolidated. If they are estimated at 30,000—probably the number is higher,—there are to-day in all Madagascar only 184,000 evangelical natives, a decrease from 209,000 in 1895; on the other hand, the number of scholars has increased from 126,000 to 135,000. According to the *Miss. Cath.*, the number of Catholic Malagash in 1896 or 1897 was given roundly at 60,500; but in July 1898, scarcely a year and a half after the French occupation, it was triumphantly reported that, including the catechumens, they now numbered 320,450!—and in 1890 the central office of the Jesuit missions reported only 93,000 baptized and 266,800 catechumens and enrolled adherents. So that is progress by steam! It is to be hoped that the severe crisis through which evangelical missions have passed in Madagascar will fall out to their purifying.¹ It may be added, that since about a year ago the French colonial policy has begun to relax its intimate association with Jesuit missions.

SECTION 4. EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA

188. East Africa was till half a century ago a completely closed land. Here the impulse to geographical exploration was given chiefly by British missionaries, and this was followed at a later time by the seizure of colonial territory. With both

¹ Ellis, *The Martyr Church: a Narrative of the Introduction, Progress, and Triumph of Christianity in Madagascar*, London, 1870. Mullens, *Twelve Months in Madagascar*, London, 1875. Cousins, *Madagascar of To-day*, London, 1895.

In 1898 the Paris Missionary Society published an excellent map of Madagascar, particularly of the Christian provinces, and accompanied by a short explanatory text. This text gives for 1895 the following missionary statistics, which, however, must have been not immaterially reduced through



processes was closely associated an extensive missionary occupation.

In May 1844 the German missionary L. Krapf, a skilful linguist, who was in the service of the C. M. S., after unsuccessful missionary attempts in Abyssinia and among the Galla tribe, landed at Mombasa, and on the mainland opposite opened the first East African mission station. Two months later his wife and only child died. Himself sick to death with fever, the deeply stricken man wrote to the directorate of the society the prophetic words: "Tell our friends that in a lonely grave on the African coast there rests a member of the mission which is connected with their society. That is a sign that they have begun the struggle with this part of the world; and since the victories of the church lead over the graves of many of her members, they may be the more convinced that the hour is approaching when you will be called to convert Africa, beginning from the East Coast." During his convalescence Krapf projected bold plans for the realisation of this prophecy, plans which at first people smiled at as idealistic dreams, but which are now actually in process of being carried into effect. These plans were (1) to lay down a chain of mission stations diagonally across the African continent from Mombasa in the east to the Gaboon River in the west, each occupied by 4 missionaries; (2) to establish in the vicinity of Mombasa a colony for liberated slaves like that on the West Coast at Sierra Leone; (3) to obtain for the conversion and civilisation of Africa a black evangelical bishop at the head of a native ministry. In 1846, Krapf gained in Johann Rebmann, like himself a native of Würtemberg, a fellow-worker who, in spite of slight success, held out with heroic patience and faithfulness for 29 years at the station of Rabai (Kisulutini) till relief came, while

the losses which have since occurred, and which are at the moment not to be exactly discussed:—

	Mission- aries.	Native Pastors.	Communi- cants.	Adherents.	Scholars.
Province of Imerina .	34	913	61,481	262,688	57,282
" Betsileo .	22	168	33,503	92,047	51,756
East Coast . . .	9	38	2,030	28,797	12,828
Sihanaka . . .	3	3	487	8,817	3,481
South-West Coast .	3	...	239	600	403
Bara	4	...	60	150	245
Total .	75	...	97,800	393,099	125,995

Krapf had to return home with broken health in 1855. Besides important linguistic works accomplished by these two pioneers, they also won distinction by their geographical attainments. In particular, by their discovery of the snow-capped mountains of Kilima Njaro and Kenia in the interior of Africa, and their communication of the existence of a great inland sea in Central Africa, they first astonished the European geographers, and then led them to send out a whole series of exploring expeditions. About the middle of the Seventies, their pioneer labours, linguistic and geographical, began to bear fruit for the mission also.

189. Much more effective even than theirs was the part taken by the great Livingstone in the opening up and missionary occupation of Central East Africa, both by his discoveries, extending as far as the north end of Tanganyika,¹ and by the impulse to the continuation of these given by him to Stanley,² and by his summons, untiringly repeated, to the combating of the slave-trade. To the influence of Livingstone was due, directly and indirectly, at least the first starting of the East African Coast and Lake missions. These missions are the memorials after his own heart which his fellow-countrymen have erected to him in Africa.

While Livingstone was still on mission service, he was occupied with far-reaching missionary plans, which had for their aim to open up to Christianity, in connection with an organised colonisation, large tracts of the interior of Africa. This African explorer is by God's grace distinguished from the great majority of travellers bent on discovery, by this, that the people whom he got to know were of more importance to him than the countries which he discovered, and that not merely for their scientific interest, but for the sake of helping them. The advancement of the welfare of the natives had for him greater importance than the enrichment of our scientific knowledge: he was impelled, not by the ambition of the scholar, but by the pitying love of the Christian philanthropist. All his discoveries had as their final end humane objects,—the abolition of the slave-trade, the opening up of roads for lawful commerce, the introduction of sound culture, and, above all, the propagation of Christianity. Once he wrote, "I am tired of discovery, if no fruit follows it"; and at another time, "The end of geographical achievement is only the beginning of missionary undertaking." Livingstone

¹ Livingstone, *Missionary Journeys and Discoveries in South Africa; New Missionary Journeys in South Africa; Last Journals in Central Africa*.
Blaikie, *Personal Life of Livingstone*.

² Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*.

is king of modern discoverers,—a king, too, who sacrificed himself in following his Saviour that he might open up the way for the redemption of the Africans. Of him, too, it was true that the corn of wheat must fall into the earth and die before it can bring forth fruit. While he lived, he saw little of the fruit of his life-work, but on his grave trees of life have grown. The victorious struggle against the African slave-trade, the opening of the interior of Africa, and the abundance of new inland African missions, with which we shall now make acquaintance, have been the work of Livingstone after his death.

190. So early as 1859, on the occasion of Livingstone's visit to England, there was founded at his instigation the Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin Mission, which afterwards assumed the name of the Universities Mission. Its first very imperfect missionary effort in the Shiré Highlands was unfortunately an utter failure, and cost the leader, Bishop Mackenzie, and several of his companions, their lives.¹ Under his disheartened successor the mission withdrew to Zanzibar, where it maintained a feeble existence till, revived by events at the beginning of the Seventies, it again extended its work to the mainland, under the leadership of the able Bishops Steere and Smythies, and developed an increasing activity in Usambara, on the Rovuma, and on Lake Nyassa.² The Christians now under the care of this mission number altogether 7000; its schools are attended by 3300 pupils. It has a large staff of workers—56 ordained and lay missionaries and 38 unmarried lady missionaries. Unfortunately, however, constant changes in the staff greatly interfere with the continuity of the work. The growing catholicising tendency of the mission weakens our sympathy with it.

191. The first impulse to the beginning of the modern East African missionary epoch was given by the energetic action of Britain against the Arab slave-trade, which had its chief centre in Zanzibar. In consequence of the treaty abolishing this trade, which was wrung from the Sultan of Zanzibar by Sir Bartle Frere, the British warships liberated a large number of slaves; and the embarrassment of the British Government in regard to providing for these slaves was met by the offer of the C. M. S. to establish a refuge for them near Rebmann's old station at Rabai, on the model of Sierra Leone. And so, in 1874, there arose opposite Mombasa the colony of Frere Town, which was intended to become at once the centre and the point

¹ Rowley, *The Story of the Universities Mission to Central Africa*, London, 1861.

² *History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa*, 1859–1896, London, 1897.

of departure of missionary activity in East Africa. After the overcoming of great difficulties, and amid frequent complications with the hostile slave-holders, the work was slowly brought into order. The East African Coast district of the C. M. S., in which are also included the three Usugara stations situated in German territory, now embraces, besides Frere Town, 7 stations, of which 2—Taita and Taveta—are planted already some distance into the interior on the way to Uganda: there are in the district 1800 Christians.

192. The second and more successful impulse was given by Stanley, who had already made a name for himself by his discovery of Livingstone at Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika, and who by his intercourse with the discoverer, who even as a man impressed him immensely, was moved to resolve to consecrate his life to the continuation of Livingstone's work. Soon after Livingstone's death in 1874, he entered on his famous first great journey through the Dark Continent, which determined the course of the Congo. On this journey he stayed for some months with King Mtesa of Uganda, and from here in 1875 he wrote an enthusiastic letter to the Christians of England, in which he challenged them to begin in this kingdom a mission of civilisation. The letter exerted an electrifying influence. Means and men for the projected mission were soon forthcoming, and so soon as June 1876 the first 8 missionaries of the C. M. S., belonging to the most varied callings, stood on the eastern margin of Africa, ready to enter on the long road, then but little trod, to the Victoria Nyanza. This bold missionary undertaking has had a history full of romance and vicissitude, as rich in suffering as in surprising results. At first the obstacles in the way of the mission were the difficulty of communication, the unhealthiness of the climate, the capriciousness of the despotic King Mtesa,¹ the Roman Catholic intrusion, the recrudescence of heathenism, and the emulation of the Mohammedans. Under Mtesa's successor, the young debauchee Mwanga, there occurred also bloody persecutions of the Uganda Christians, then but few in number, the murder of the missionary, Bishop Hannington,² devastating revolutions, and the fatal intermeddling of the European colonial policy, which was followed by a destructive civil war. In this the Evangelical party fought on the side of the British, and the Roman Catholics against them. But, thanks to the solid foundation laid by able missionaries, especially by Alexander Mackay,³ the mission, though re-

¹ Ashe, *Two Kings of Uganda*, London, 1889.

² Dawson, *Bishop James Hannington*, London, 1887.

³ *A. M. Mackay*, by his Sister, London, 1890.

peatedly threatened with ruin, rose above all these storms and turmoils; and after the British occupation had brought some quiet into the disturbed country, an astonishing reaction set in, which in the first instance manifested itself in an almost epidemic desire to read and learn, and which became a great Christian movement. By 1895 the number of the so-called "Readers" had risen to almost 60,000; the number of church attenders to 26,000. The movement began in Mengo, the capital, but it soon spread not only over the provinces of Uganda, but even into the neighbouring lands of Budu, Busoga, Toro, Bunyoro, and Usukama, into which parts bands of native evangelists journeyed, who found willing helpers in Uganda, for the most part among the chiefs. The English missionaries, who now number 33, including 13 laymen, and who are supported by 14 lady missionaries, have their hands full, apart from preaching, with teaching, literary work, the organisation of congregations, the directing of evangelistic activity, and the training of native helpers. While in 1882 there were only 5, and in 1892 scarcely 1000 baptized evangelical Christians in Uganda, their number had increased at the end of 1899 to nearly 25,000, including 2500 catechumens, and it would be still greater but for the care exercised in dispensing the sacrament. At any rate, a wide door has been opened to the Gospel on the Victoria Nyanza, and though the "many adversaries" are not wanting—the Roman Catholic counter-mission, —and though reverses will scarcely fail to be met with, as is proved by the recent risings, first of Mwanga, then of the Soudanese mercenaries, and again of Mwanga, who is now a prisoner, a work is nevertheless in progress here for which God is to be greatly praised. Since the overland route to Uganda from Mombasa, of which half is already railway, has become the usual one for the English missionaries, the three old stations on the route through German East Africa (Usagara), of which the best known is Mpwapa, seem to be treated in a somewhat step-motherly fashion, the more so as the result of the mission here is inconsiderable (250 Christians). In British East Africa, north-east of Kilima Njaro, on the River Kibwezi, there was established in 1892, at the instigation, and, to a considerable extent, at the cost of the British East Africa Company, the station of New Lovedale, which, on the model of the South African Lovedale, is to form the centre and point of departure of a so-called Industrial Mission.

193. So early as 1862, through the influence of Krapf's book (*Reisen in Ostafrika*, 1839–1855), and under his personal leadership, the United Methodist Free Churches of England began a

mission among the Wanika at Ribe, near to Rebmann's station of Rabai, which was intended to spread also to the Galla people. But continuous sickness and mortality among the missionaries, of whom only Wakefield and New¹ were permitted a lengthened period of labour, and at a later time a predatory invasion of the Masai, which destroyed Golbanti station and cost missionary Houghton and his wife their lives (1886), have greatly hindered the development of this little mission. Some 1200 Christians have been gathered at 7 stations.

194. The third factor in the history of the founding of the East African missions is the era of colonial politics, which began in the middle of the Eighties. The occupation of territory by the Germans led to the initiation of 6 German missions. The earliest movement was in Bavaria, when a little circle under the influence of Krapf's missionary ideas had been for a considerable time occupied with the plan of a Wakamba Mission. In the expectation that the whole East African coast up to Somali Land would become German, a "Bavarian Society for an Evangelical Lutheran Mission in East Africa" was constituted at the beginning of 1886. In putting this plan into execution from the coast near Rabai as starting-point, the society had soon to experience an unpleasant disappointment, since by diplomatic arrangement its mission field fell within the British sphere of interest. A similar disappointment befell the Neukirchen Mission, which in 1887 began at Witu, near to the United Methodists, a mission which has now extended to 2 stations,—Lamu and Ngao on the Tana River,—but has achieved only some slight initial results. The Wakamba Mission, which works in a very hard soil and has passed through great affliction, but which has now a number baptized at 3 stations, passed over in 1893 to the Leipsic Society, which in the same year began a new work among the Jagga on Kilima Njaro, from which the C. M. S. had had to retire. Here it has 4 stations, the erection of the formerly projected station on Mount Meru having been put off owing to the murder of two of the society's missionaries. Here, too, some first-fruits have been baptized.

195. In the province of Usambara, south-east from Kilima Njaro and not far from the British boundaries, besides the Universities Mission at Magila, the German African Missionary Society (Berlin III.) has its northern mission field, which, inclusive of Tanga on the coast, comprises 4 flourishing stations, of which Hohenfriedberg (Mlalo) has made most progress. Farther south, in the province of Usaramo, in the hinterland of Dar-es-Salaam, there are 3 more stations, including this coast

¹ New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labour in Eastern Africa*, London, 1874.

town itself, which is important as the seat of the German Government; of these, however, only Kisserawe has up till now developed some degree of success. The work among the Suaheli on the coast continues to be rather unfruitful. The hospital originally founded in Zanzibar and then removed to Dar-es-Salaam, which has occasioned so many disagreements and rendered to the mission itself services so slight, has, in consequence of the erection of a Government hospital, been given up. The German East Africa M. S., which at present supports 19 missionaries (all University men), also undertook the spiritual care of the Germans in Dar-es-Salaam; now, however, a special German colonial pastor has been appointed there. At Kisserawe station a home was provided for liberated slaves, but since the Evangelical Africa Union took over the care of these, having founded a refuge for them, combined with a sanatorium, in Lutindi in Usambara, the missionary society has been relieved of this work for the future. There are 340 baptized and 570 scholars.

196. In Konde Land, at the north end of Lake Nyassa, in the south-western corner of German East Africa, the Berlin (I.) Missionary Society and the Moravians—the former in the east, the latter in the west—took up in 1891 an entirely new mission field; and here, too, first-fruits have already been gathered in (230 baptized). The Berlin missionaries occupy 11 stations (including 4 among the Wahehe), the Moravians 6, and both are thinking of extension. With courageous faith the Moravians, at the request of the L. M. S., have even taken over in addition their solitary Urambo station in the German Unyamewesi territory, and have placed 2 missionaries in charge of it.

197. The London Missionary Society, which with pride counts Livingstone among its missionaries, could not think to lag behind, when the death of the noble African explorer fired his Scottish countrymen to great missionary undertakings in the region of Lake Nyassa, which he had discovered. It chose as its field the country around Tanganyika, the middle lake of the three in inland Africa, which was the scene of important events in the life of Livingstone. The point of departure of their Central African Mission was to be Ujiji, notorious for its slave markets, and memorable as the meeting-place of Livingstone and Stanley. But the whole undertaking, which has cost so much money and so many lives, including that of Mullens, the secretary of the society, has taken a course yielding little satisfaction, not merely through the difficulty of communication and the hostility of the Arab slave-traders, but also from the want of a firm and clear-sighted administration

and of suitable missionaries. The frequent change of stations, for which, perhaps, the two steamers which were at great cost taken to the lake are partly accountable, and still more the constant change in the mission staff, have hindered a successful development. Since the intermediate station of Urambo, which was founded so early as 1879, passed over to the Moravians, the L. M. S. maintains now only 3 stations on the southern shore of Tanganyika, and even at these the work is frequently interrupted and the results are meagre. It is reported, however, that quite recently more than 1000 hearers of the word have been gathered in.

198. More systematic and successful, however, are the two Scottish missions of the Established and the Free Church, which entered on work in the Nyassa region as a memorial of Livingstone. In the Shiré Highlands, at the south of the lake, and still within the British Protectorate, though close to the Portuguese boundaries, we first come on the field of labour of the Church of Scotland, which has its centre for the work of Christianisation and civilisation at Blantyre, the important station named after Livingstone's birthplace. After successfully overcoming a grave crisis, brought on by the exercise of magisterial jurisdiction on the part of the first lay missionaries, this station, with its two offshoots in connection with the plantation work of the brothers Buchanan, has on the whole, in spite of many deaths and many further critical embarrassments, developed so satisfactorily that it has become, both for Christianity and for civilisation, "a city set on a hill." It is true that the number of those baptized is only somewhat more than 700, but there are twice as many natives under the influence of the preaching, and the pupils number 2300: a Theological Seminary has also just been opened. The development of the Blantyre Mission has rather been hindered than helped by an undertaking in plantation culture, carried on since 1893 by an adventurous Australian colonist, a Baptist named Booth, with the support of Scottish capitalists. It bears the name of the Zambesi Industrial Mission, and aims at conducting a self-supporting mission by means of the revenue of extensive coffee plantations, chiefly among the workmen employed in these. The founder of this enterprise, which has less of a missionary than of a commercial colonisation character, was, on account of his indiscreet conduct towards the Scottish Church Mission, deprived of the superintendentship, and he then founded a Baptist Industrial Mission of Scotland, which only increases the unpleasant competition. Yet more fantastic is the scheme of Thorne, a negro from Barbadoes, who proposes with 1000 Christian West Indians

to found a colony in the Shiré Highlands on a piece of ground placed at his disposal without cost by the British Government.

199. The Livingstonia Mission of the Scottish Free Church, begun in 1874 and since that time admirably led by Dr. Laws, is more extensive, stretching as it does up the whole western shore of Lake Nyassa, and has recently made a magnificent advance. Its centre is the station of Bandawe, which is situated about the middle of the western shore. Its southern district is South Ngoni Land, which at a point southward from the lake almost touches the Blantyre Mission, and which has to some extent been attached to the Reformed Church of the Cape; this church, with over 1500 scholars, makes common cause with the Scottish missionaries in its work. The northern district is the Tanganyika plateau within British territory, as far as the commercial settlement of the Fife Lakes Company; here, however, the mission is very much in the experimental stage. This mission systematically combines the work of civilisation with that of evangelisation, and gives quite peculiar attention to its schools. The 117 schools are attended by more than 12,000 pupils, and exert a far-reaching influence for Christianity and civilisation. The Livingstonia Institution, opened in 1895 on the high-lying Kondowe plateau, westward of Florence Bay, is arranged on the plan of Lovedale, and has a large number of pupils: it is a pity that the concluding theological instruction is given in the English language. The Scottish missionaries are very cautious in administering baptism, and so the number of those baptized and of candidates for baptism, which is now increasing rapidly, amounted in 1899 to only 5000; while 3000 to 7000 would be present at religious gatherings. The Christians, moreover, are animated by great zeal in bearing witness for the faith, and, along with numerous native catechists and teachers (250), serve the mission as voluntary evangelists. On account of the great stress which this mission lays on the independent co-operation of the natives, it contents itself with 7 ordained and 12 lay missionaries, a European staff which is scarcely proportionate to the size and importance of the field, where 9 different languages and dialects are spoken, of which 7 have already been raised to be literary languages. Already the whole of the New Testament and part of the Old have been translated into the Nyanja language. The influence which this mission has exercised on behalf of civilisation is great. Acknowledgment must also be made of the aid rendered to the mission by the Scottish African Lakes Company, which is conducted in a Christian spirit; it has erected a chain of factories from the estuary of the Zambesi to the Tanganyika plateau. The British Protectorate,

prepared for by missions and commerce, has almost entirely made an end of the slave-trade, which used to flourish especially in the countries about Lake Nyassa, and in general by its sound administration has made a hopeful beginning with the pacification and elevation of these countries.¹ It has already been remarked that the Universities Mission has a field of labour within German territory, on the northern part of the east coast of Lake Nyassa, which centres in the island of Likoma and is an adjunct to its Rovuma Mission.

SECTION 5. NORTH AFRICA

200. The immense region of North Africa, which extends from the Mediterranean to the southern limits of the Soudan, and from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, embracing almost the half of the Dark Continent, and which, with the exception of the negro tribes in the west, south, and south-east, is inhabited by a Hamitic population, has been touched by evangelical missions in part very slightly and in part not at all. The reason for this lies not only in the climatic conditions and the difficulty of communication, but far more in the inaccessibility of the inhabitants. For the first time we here come on a compact domain of Islam, which, by means of a propaganda, direct and indirect, beyond our control and carried forward with more or less fanaticism and violence, is proselytising more and more towards the west, south, and east, with results which, in the judgment of all experts, are injurious to Africa. Like solitary islands in the midst of this Mohammedan ocean, there stand Abyssinia and the Coptic population of Egypt, with, it is true, a very much deformed Christianity, and the Roman missionary churches of Algiers and Tunis.

If at present we leave out of account the attempts at evangelisation among the old African Christian churches, to look at them later in connection with those among the remnants of the Asiatic churches, the other evangelical missionary undertakings in North Africa are confined to the countries on the coast of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Plans have repeatedly been laid for pressing into the Soudan from the west and south-west, but until now the endeavours in this direction have all come to grief. Even the British victory over the Mahdi at Omdurman, which gave them a new impulse, has not until now effected any change.

¹ Report of Commissioner Johnston of the first three years' administration of the Eastern Portion of British Central Africa, dated March 31, 1894. Jack, *Daybreak in Livingstonia*, Edinburgh, 1900.

201. In 1866 the Swedish Fatherland Institute began a mission from Massowah on the Red Sea, partly in Cunama Land on its north-west borders, partly in the province of Hamasen in the north-east of Abyssinia, and an attempt was also made to press forward from Khartum to the Galla tribe, in each case at the cost of great sacrifice and without success. The dangerous climate, the hostility of the priests, and the savage character of the natives, necessitated withdrawal. Abyssinia continued to be as much closed to the missionaries as the way to the Gallas. They had therefore to withdraw to the colony of Erythrea, which is at present Italian, and in it they maintain two stations—Moncullo, near Massowah, and Geleb, which have small congregations and a mission school. They were able to resume the work in Hamasen, and there at 3 stations they have 380 church members. A new forward movement towards the Gallas is also in progress. A translation of the New Testament into their language has already been completed, and is at present being printed.

202. In the countries along the north coast of Africa the interdenominational North Africa Mission, which originated from an Algerian mission instigated by Pearce, Glenny, and Grattan Guinness, has, since the beginning of the Eighties, been developing an extensive activity among the Mohammedans from Egypt as far as Morocco.¹ Its work centres around 16 stations, but up to the present it has had no success worthy of mention. The staff is certainly a large one, but of more than 85 workers (it is uncertain, however, whether all are in the service), 63 are ladies, who not merely make house-to-house visits, care for the sick, impart instruction and distribute Bibles, but also preach in public—a special offence in the Mohammedan world—and occupy some stations quite alone. It is also very doubtful if the men missionaries, of whom not one is ordained, are equal to their difficult task. In the mission staff, too, constant changes are taking place. There are, besides, another interdenominational Scottish Southern Morocco Mission with 4 stations, and a Central Morocco Mission with 1 station, which are likewise at present only sowing in hope. In Egypt, at Cairo, Miss Whately in 1861 began school work, combined with a medical mission, and this work has been carried on since her death in 1889: it seems now, however, to be confined entirely to secular instruction. Of almost 700 scholars (boys and girls) who attend the school, more than half are children of Moham-

¹ Haig, *Daybreak in North Africa: an Account of Work for Christ begun in Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli*, London. Organ: *North Africa. The Gospel in North Africa*, by Rutherford and Glenny, London, 1901.

medan parents: of conversions to Christianity there is no word. At the request of Miss Whately, the C. M. S., having given up its earlier work among the Copts, began a limited Mohammedan mission in Cairo, and has gathered a small congregation, with 116 baptized and 300 scholars. The Dutch mission in Kaliub is unimportant.

203. Before turning to the work of evangelisation among the old Christian churches, we may gather together the statistical results of the evangelical heathen mission in Africa:—

West Africa	.	.	.	.	175,000	Evan. Christians.
South Africa	.	.	.	.	575,000	„ „
African Islands	.	.	.	.	190,000	„ „
East and Central Africa	.	.	.	.	43,000	„ „
Total					983,000	Evan. Christians.

CHAPTER III

THE OLD ORIENTAL CHURCHES

204. THE Mohammedan world, which extends over the whole of North Africa, part of south-east Europe, and from Arabia and Asia Minor through Persia as far as China and the Dutch East Indies, and which numbers $196\frac{1}{2}$ millions of adherents, is still almost entirely closed against the Gospel. This is true not only where there is Mohammedan rule, and where conversion to Christianity is by the direction of the Koran punished with death, but also in the Christian colonial dominions of British and Dutch India. Missions to Mohammedans, it is true, have been, and are still, carried on by various evangelical societies and by the agency of specially able missionaries (*e.g.* Pfander, Kölle, French¹); and a small number of converted Moslems, including some outstanding men like Dr. Imaduddin in North India, are the fruit of this work. But considerable congregations have nowhere yet been formed from the confessors of Islam, with the single exception of those in Java and Sumatra. The time of the mission to the Mohammedan world seems to be not yet fully come, and the hope which rested on the fall of the Turkish power has been again removed into the far distance by the victories of the Turks over the Greeks. In these circumstances, to think at present of beginning a direct Mohammedan mission would be a venture opposed to Christian prudence, in view of past failures and unavailing sacrifices,—*e.g.* in the Scottish Free Church mission in South Arabia and the utterly futile attempt of Pastor Faber in Persia. Even the most wonderful self-sacrifice, like that of the noble Scottish professor, Keith Falconer, and the excellent Bishop French, who both found lonely graves in Arabia, was not sufficient to open the doors which God's key had not yet unlocked. Besides Mohammedan fanaticism, a special hindrance which has to be reckoned with is the unfortunate implication of religion with politics. Not only are the Mohammedan governments

¹ Birks, *The Life and Correspondence of Th. V. French*, London, 1895.

inspired with the greatest distrust towards evangelical missionaries, as if they were the instigators of sedition, but missions are also impeded by the political jealousy of the Christian powers. The antagonism of Russia to Britain, which sees in all that is called evangelical a danger for its plans of conquest, extends even to the protection of Mohammedanism, so that it forbids even the Orthodox Church to conduct a mission among its own Mohammedan subjects. Britain's ambiguous Eastern policy, too, is calculated to give ever fresh fuel for the distrust of both Russia and Turkey. European politics altogether, the German included, treat the Turkish dominion as a *Noli me tangere*, and this protection is unfavourable to all missionary effort. Under these circumstances our task must meantime be limited to the prosecution of a direct Mohammedan mission mainly in the Christian colonial dominions, to the counter-acting of the Mohammedan propaganda in heathen countries by means of Christian missions, and to the spiritual revival of the old degenerate Christian churches within the Mohammedan world.

205. This last work has been carried on by evangelical missions somewhat extensively since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and not without success. It is, strictly speaking, not mission work but evangelisation work, but since it has an important missionary significance, we are justified in considering it in this place. At the beginning the principle guiding this work was a very ideal one. Both Germans and Englishmen and Americans, who took part in the enterprise, repudiated the thought of making proselytes and forming Protestant congregations within the Oriental churches. So far from cherishing this purpose, they desired nothing more than by word and writing, especially by the evangelical education of pastors and teachers, to help on a reformation within these churches. But as life came into the dead bones, the official church functionaries everywhere manifested opposition, extending even to persecution and excommunication; and this compelled the founding of independent Protestant congregations, if work which had been blessed was not to be given up. This expedient was the more recommended, since the Turkish Government allowed to organised Protestant congregations a certain measure of religious liberty, provided they were recruited only from the old Christian churches. Almost everywhere the emissaries of Rome took part with zealous intrigue in the hostile movement against the evangelical efforts towards reformation. Their aim was the mere outward subjection of the Oriental churches to the Pope, without any regard to their religious and moral renewal.

206. On African soil there are still left two branches of the old Monophysites, the Abyssinian or Ethiopian Church and the Coptic. Both have been made the object of evangelical attempts at reformation. The work in Abyssinia was first taken in hand by the C. M. S., which had so far back as 1815 erected a central school in Malta with a view to the revival of the Oriental churches. It sent out (1830) notable men, like Gobat, afterwards Bishop of Jerusalem, Krapf and Isenberg; but after little more than ten years' labour they were driven out of the country, leaving behind as the fruit of their labour only the translation of the Bible and some awakened Abyssinians. Nothing more enduring was accomplished by the Chrischona Brethren sent out in 1856 by Spittler at the instance of Gobat. Only Flad had some success among the Jewish Felasha. In 1885 all the missionaries had to leave the country. Spittler, a man fertile in resources, formed a far-reaching plan for an apostolic road from Jerusalem to Kondar, but little of it has been put into execution. And in the present political conditions every attempt to penetrate distrustful Abyssinia is hopeless.

Among the Christian Copts of Egypt, who number about 200,000, work of a temporary kind was done last century by the Moravians, and this century by the C. M. S. and the Chrischona Brethren, but without any noteworthy success. The American United Presbyterians, however, who began their work in 1861, have succeeded in forming 50 organised congregations, ministered to mostly by native pastors, which have altogether 6400 communicants and 23,000 adherents. The official Coptic Church, it is true, has rejected the Gospel, but an influence for good has gone forth to the church as a whole from the mission stations, in number more than 200, which extend from Alexandria and Cairo to the Nile Cataracts; from the schools, 184 in number, with 14,000 scholars; and from the active literary and colportage work in which the Presbyterians are engaged: this influence manifests itself in all sorts of movements towards reformation.

207. In Asia the first object of the work of Protestant evangelisation that we meet with is the population of Palestine, in religion very mixed, and morally and economically very degraded. This work first assumed a regular form in connection with the English-Prussian (now exclusively English) Bishopric of Jerusalem erected in 1841, particularly under Gobat, the second bishop, whose labours, especially in the founding of schools, were greatly blessed, and at whose impulse the Chrischona Brethren and the C. M. S. entered on the work. The C. M. S. has more than 2000 members at 19 stations, and

by means of its schools, which are attended by about 2500 pupils, its press, and its medical mission, it exerts on Greek Christians and Mohammedans an influence in favour of the Gospel. By its side the German Jerusalem Union (Verein) has been at work since 1852; this must be carefully distinguished from the Jerusalem Institution (Stiftung) for the German evangelical congregation in Jerusalem, which was set up in 1889, and which stands under the official authority of the Government. The Jerusalem Union, in addition to its work for German congregations, conducts mission work mainly among the old Christian Arab population at 4 stations in the Holy Land, with indeed but moderate direct success (400 church members). The Schneller Syrian Orphanage for boys, and the Kaiserswert Deaconesses' Talitha Cumi Orphanage for girls, as well as their hospital, exert a beneficial though but limited influence. The journey of the German Emperor and Empress to the dedication of the Church of the Redeemer in Jerusalem has given a new and powerful impulse to all these branches of work. Of course, in the old land of the Jews, Jewish missions are also carried on.

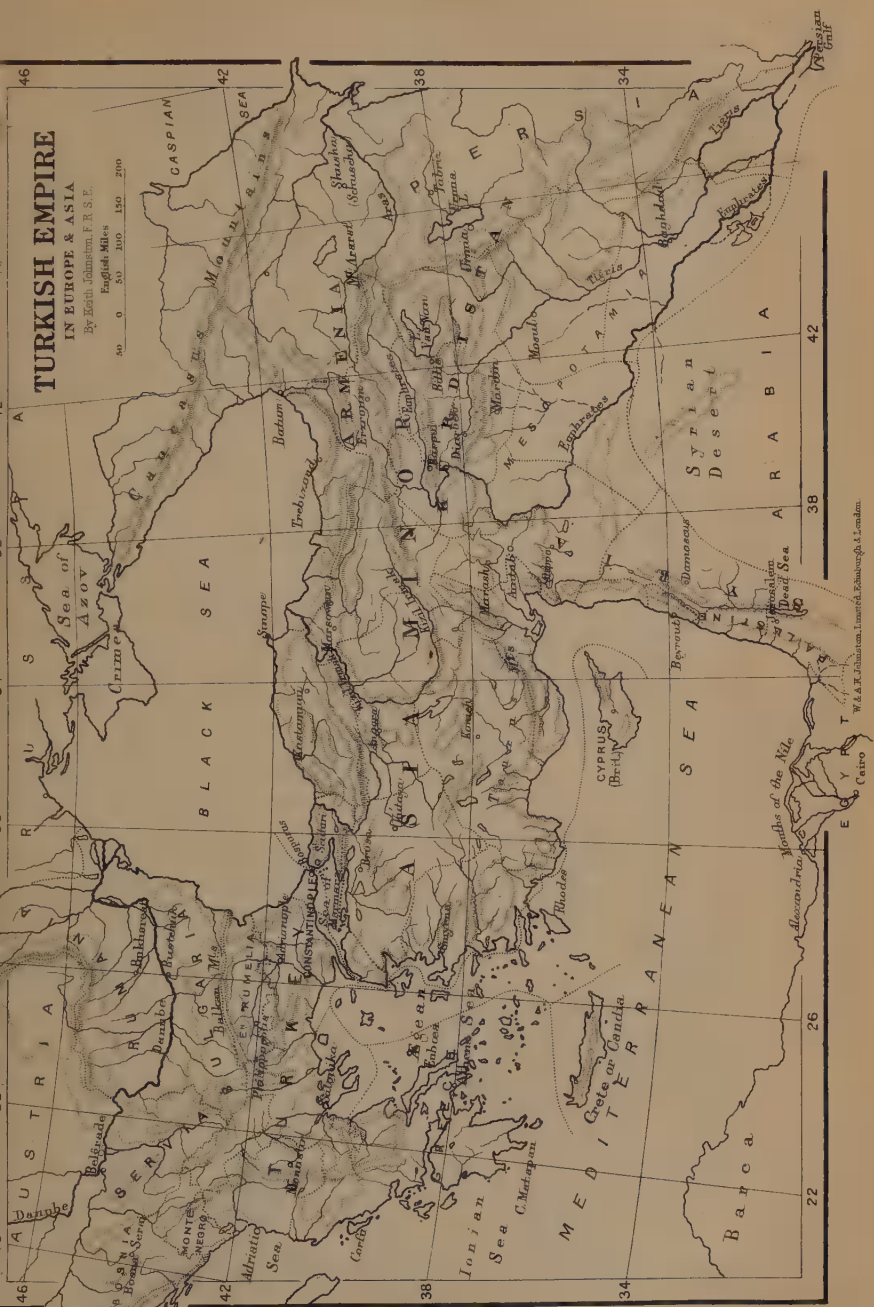
208. Of much greater influence is the work begun by the Americans shortly after 1820, carried on first by the American Board and then by the Presbyterian Church, to which latter Syria, with Beyrout as centre, was in 1878 given over, and whose mission work there is chiefly among the Arabic-speaking Greeks. Both of the American missions, whose field of operations extends from the Bosphorus to the Caspian Sea, are engaged not only in evangelisation, but also in a grand educative and literary work, by means of which they have gained a deep influence for the intellectual and social elevation of the whole population, women as well as men.¹ In Syria the Presbyterians have organised Protestant congregations at 5 chief stations and numerous out-stations, with altogether nearly 2000 communicants, who are as salt to the society in which they live. The efficacy of the mission, however, through school and press, extends far beyond this organisation of congregations. Besides a university in Beyrout with over 200 students, there are more than 100 schools of the most diverse grades, attended by nearly 9000 scholars, which are centres of light in the country; of these schools, it should be said, about half are supported by other smaller missionary societies. Their erection has so stimulated the Christians and Mohammedans of Syria, that school after school has arisen among them in order to paralyse the influence of Protestantism. Equally

¹ *The Gospel in the Ottoman Empire: Proceedings of the Mildmay Conf.*, 1878, 107.

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successful has been the extensive literary work, the crown of which is the masterly Arabic translation of the Bible by Smith and Van Dyke, completed in 1865. The medical mission is extending its operations more and more widely. There are, in addition, quite a number of smaller missionary societies, mostly Presbyterian, at work in Syria, as far up as ancient Antioch; these taken together have probably as many pupils and church members as the American Presbyterian Church.¹

In Arabia—it may here be inserted—the Hon. Ion Keith-Falconer from Scotland began among the Mohammedans at Sheikh Othman, near Aden, a mission work which, since his death shortly thereafter, has been carried on by the Free Church of Scotland,—until now without any result. The missionary efforts of the venerable Bishop French in Muscat, as well as those of the North Africa Mission and of the Alliance Mission among the Bedouins, have come to nought. At present the North American Reformed Church maintains 6 missionaries, including 3 doctors, at 3 stations (Busra, Bahrein, and Muscat), but without having as yet effected any conversions. The brave pioneer of this mission, P. Zwemer, died in 1898 after six years' toilsome labour.²

209. The whole of Western Asia, from European Turkey as far as Persia and on into Russian Armenia, forms a prosperous mission field, worked mainly by the American Board. In its 4 districts of European, West, Central, and East Turkey, in spite of the great slaughter among the Armenians, which may have somewhat reduced the numbers, the Board has 127 Protestant congregations, 13,000 communicants, 48,000 adherents, over 23,000 pupils in about 400 schools, 70 ordained native pastors, and 600 teachers. And the Christians connected with the Board raise yearly for church requirements £17,000 (\$81,600), a considerable financial achievement, which shows that the congregations are already almost self-supporting. Besides Greeks and the Old (not United) Nestorians or Syrians, it is the Monophysite Jacobites,—not very numerous,—and above all the Gregorian Armenians, who are the object of this work of evangelisation. The Armenians are found dwelling in scattered fashion from Constantinople all over Asia Minor, but are to be found in the most compact bodies between Kurdistan, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus. It is among them that the Protestant influence has become most powerful.

210. In Constantinople there are a considerable Protestant Armenian congregation, which is now independent, and an

¹ Anderson, *History of the Missions of the Amer. Board to the Oriental Churches*, Boston, 1873, I. 40, 224. *Church at Home and Abroad*, 1893, No. 84.

² S. W. Zwemer, *Arabia: the Cradle of Islam*, Edinburgh and London, 1900.

independent higher educational institution, the Robert College, which from 1863 to 1900 has been attended by about 2000 pupils, of whom 390 have graduated. Here the talented linguist, Dr. Riggs, laboured for the last 47 years of his long and fruitful life (*d.* 1901); he translated the Bible into Armenian, Bulgarian, and Turkish. In West and Central Turkey the higher schools at Marsowan, Marash, and Aintab make these places centres of influence. In East Turkey, Armenia proper, where, however, successful work has also been done among Nestorians, the horrible massacres of 1896 seriously disturbed the extensive operations of 5 chief stations and 130 out-stations. (Erzrum, Harput, and Mardin are the principal centres.) But the common suffering and the energetic assistance rendered have opened up for the Gospel more widely than ever before a way into the Armenian Church. An eloquent proof of the deep power of the Gospel is furnished by the fact that in the bloody period of persecution, none of the Protestant native pastors and very few of the church members could be induced to accept Islam.

211. Evangelical missions have also cast their net beyond the Turkish Empire among the Gregorians and Nestorians living in Russia (Caucasus) and in Persia. First the Basel Missionary Society began in 1823, by the agency of the former Russian Count Zarembo, a transitory, though not fruitless, work in Schuscha and Schamachi; and then the North American Presbyterians came into the field among the Nestorian Christians living on the Urmia Lake as far as to Tabris and Teheran. But about the beginning of 1899 this remnant of the Nestorian Church ceased to exist, owing to its conversion *en masse* to the Russian Church, a change which sprang from political motives, and was brought about in a purely external way. Of the Protestants, only a small fraction seems to have gone over. The missionaries of the C. M. S., both in Bagdad, which is still on Turkish ground, and in Julfa, the suburb of Ispahan in Persia, aim more at the Mohammedan population. Through Dr. Bruce this society has brought out a well-translated Persian New Testament.

Besides the Anglican High Church mission, which altogether eschews proselytism, and even works directly into the hands of the Russian propaganda, there are also London Baptists, Norwegian Lutherans, Hermannsburg missionaries, etc., at work in and around Tabris.

212. Reviewing the whole work of evangelisation directed by Protestants to the Oriental churches under Mohammedan dominion, we find the statistical result to be already considerable. There are 200 organised evangelical congregations, with

24,000 to 25,000 communicants and 80,000 to 90,000 Christian adherents; 1100 schools of very varied grades, with 55,000 scholars (boys and girls); and 12 solid translations of the Bible, in addition to an abundance of other literature. But these numbers denote a leaven, mingled with the old Christian population, which has produced fermentation even where the ecclesiastical officials are hostile to all reforming movements. Very specially among the Armenians is this quickening breath traceable, which has gone forth from evangelical preaching and schools, and it may be just the intellectual awakening of the people that has specially provoked the fanatical hatred of the Turks. In any case, in the success gained up to this time, there is justification for the hope that within the Oriental churches there are men qualified to become witnesses of the Gospel among the Mohammedans when God's hour for missions among them strikes.

CHAPTER IV

ASIA

213. THE mission field in Asia is in more than one respect essentially different from the fields hitherto traversed. We have here to do, not exclusively but chiefly, with great empires, of which some are still politically quite independent, while others are wholly subject to, or stand in greater or less dependence upon, some European colonial power. National consciousness, it is true, is not everywhere equally strong and ambitious; but there exists throughout a great compactness among the peoples, by which they are always held together, whether by means of State organisation, historical tradition, or agreement in customs, language, or religion. From this proceeds a national solidarity which presents to Christianity a resistance quite different from that of small tribes which are broken up and in process of decomposition. Moreover, these empires embrace the civilised¹ peoples of the non-Christian world. The civilisation which they represent is, indeed, neither equal in quality to that of the Christian West, nor does it penetrate the nations through and through, but nevertheless it raises them high above the so-called Nature-peoples. It bears witness to a great past history of civilisation, and it fits them to appropriate for themselves the attainments of the civilisation of the Christian West. The possession of civilisation is in itself, indeed, not at all a power hostile to the Gospel. On the contrary, it may become a factor of great helpfulness to the mission, in facilitating the intellectual apprehension of the Gospel and the training of native helpers, and in furthering the independence of the native congregations. In any case, however, it modifies missionary operations, and when it is combined with arrogance, national pride, old-fashioned customs and religious prejudice, it may become a great hindrance to the propagation of the Gospel. A third circumstance, too, should be considered,

¹ In this paragraph "civilisation" is used as, on the whole, the most serviceable equivalent for the German word "Kultur."—TR.

namely, that these civilised peoples have old compact religions, with sacred literatures, on which their intellectual education rests, and that these religions dominate their whole moral, social, and to some extent their political life. Hence it will be understood that for the victory of Christianity among them a longer and more strenuous struggle will be needed than among the Nature-peoples, with their religions of animism or fetichism, which are also devoid of literature.

SECTION 1. INDIA

214. The first of these great empires to which we come in Asia is India,¹ an immense territory with a population, by the last census, of 287 millions, which has presumably increased in the meantime to about 300 millions.² This huge empire, indeed, presents a unity only inasmuch as, notwithstanding the 153 vassal States, whose independence is only in appearance, it stands under the sceptre of Britain. In other respects it is a very variegated world, with great differences as to race, language, and religion. According to race, the population is divided into the two chief groups, fundamentally distinct from each other, of the immigrant Aryans and the native Dravids, each of which again embraces very various types. Although they live mingled together throughout the whole of India, yet the northern triangle, Hindustan, is mainly inhabited by Aryans, the southern Deccan by Dravids. But the Aryans, who make up the great majority and are the custodians of the old Indian civilisation, and the Dravids, some of whom have been drawn into this development of civilisation, while others have remained untouched by it and stand almost on the level of the Nature-peoples, represent only four-fifths of the Indian population. The remnant is made up of Mohammedans ($57\frac{1}{2}$ millions), partly immigrants and partly proselytes, a mixed multitude of various races, amongst whom the religious bond of unity has become almost a national bond. With the ethnographic variety is closely associated the linguistic. Besides the two chief families of languages, the Aryan, spoken by more than 200 millions, and the Dravidian, spoken by over 50 millions, which possess literatures, there is a third family, the Kolarian, spoken by some 6 million hill-people, who had no writing till missions came among them. Besides, there is a large number of isolated languages which cannot properly be brought under this classification. The two chief families of

¹ Caird, *India: the Land and the People*, London, 1883.

² *Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1882-83 to 1891-92*, London, 1893.

languages again branch into a multitude of separate languages, which differ from each other as much as, or even more than, the different languages of Europe. According to the last census, there were 117 languages in India, of which, indeed, only 20 were spoken by more than a million people.¹ Hindi² and Bengali are most widely spread, the former being spoken by 85½ millions, and the latter by 41½ millions; and next to these come Marathi and Punjaubi, which likewise belong to the Aryan family, and are spoken by 19 and 18 millions respectively. Of the Dravidian family, Telugu with 19¾ millions, and Tamil with 15 millions, have the largest constituencies. Finally, the religions are also very varied.³ The most numerous adherents—208 millions—have been won by Brahmanical Hinduism, which again really combines the most varied forms, from the sublimest pantheistic philosophy (Vedantism) to the coarsest polytheistic idolatry, profound speculations and the wildest fantasies, even childish absurdities, moral truths and immoral myths, in wonderful mixture. Religious thought and moral conduct are alike dominated by pantheism, which makes it exceedingly difficult for the people to understand the Christian conception of personality, alike in God and in man, and, combined as it is with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, deadens the sense of personal responsibility and guilt. Next in respect to the number of adherents comes Mohammedanism, most widespread in the north, with 57½ millions. In India it has clung fast to its monotheism and fanaticism, but it has accommodated itself in many ways to the social life of the country. More than 9 millions of the aboriginal population, mostly mountain tribes, favour a coarse demon-worship, which enslaves them with the fear of enchantments. Buddhism, although its home is in India, and although it is the strictest consequence of the Indian religious views, has few adherents in India proper. The 7 millions of Buddhists given by the census belong to Burma, and the religion which they practise now is much less like the atheistic, ascetic, and ethical Buddhism of the ancient sources than, say, the Romanism of South America is like primitive Christianity. There are still two other Indian sects, the Jains and the Sikhs. The Jains, who

¹ Cust, *The Modern Languages of East India*, London, 1878. *Linguistic and Oriental Essays*, London, 1887, ii. ser. 53.

² To be carefully distinguished from Hindustani or Urdu, which is a dialect of Hindi interspersed with Persian, is spoken by all Mohammedans, and in the *lingua franca* of North India is (along with English) the official language of the Anglo-Indian Government.

³ Vaughan, *The Trident, the Crescent, and the Cross: a View of the Religious History of India during the Hindu, Buddhist, Mohammedan, and Christian Periods*, London, 1876.

are the older sect, and number $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, are to be found especially in the Bombay Presidency. Their faith is a mixture of Brahmanism and Buddhism; they reject caste, practise worship of the saints, and spare most religiously every living thing. Much younger is the sect of the Sikhs in the Punjab, who number 2 millions, and whose faith is a mixture of Brahmanism and Mohammedanism. At the first they laid stress on piety of life and union with the Deity; but they soon came to form a political party, and with its overthrow their religious enthusiasm was quenched. The fire-worshipping Parsees, of whom there are only 90,000, occupy, in spite of their small number, a respectable and influential place. Many of them are prosperous and enlightened merchants.

215. In addition to this great variety, ethnographic, linguistic, and religious, or rather, in combination with it, there is a social division which is quite peculiar to the population of India, and which corresponds to no difference of rank elsewhere, namely, caste. This undefinable institution, bound up with birth, and therefore inheritable and indissoluble, which makes the variety in nationality, social standing, and calling into an insurmountable separation of classes, and is so interpenetrated with religion that the ceremonial caste-purity forms the Indian ideal of holiness, and the violation of caste rules is, for a Hindu, the chief sin,—this unnatural institution, which bids defiance to all healthy social life, imposes fetters on all healthy progress, and along with the dominant pantheistic view of the world kills all sense of personal responsibility, is such a peculiar and gigantic hindrance to Christian missions as is to be found in no other mission field. Even the increasing inflow of Western civilisation, which has indeed begun here and there to sap the foundations of the edifice of caste, has up till now not been able to shake it in any considerable degree.

It is almost impossible to form a conception of the multitude of ramifications in the caste-system. The traditional fourfold division into Brahmans (priests), Kshatriyas (warriors), Vaisyas (peasants and artisans), and Sudras (servants) does not at all correspond with the actual facts of to-day. Even the Brahmans are divided into innumerable subordinate castes, which mutually refuse to associate with each other. The usual reckoning of the castes as 3000 in number is only a summary taking account only of the chief castes. In South India alone there are said to be 19,000 caste divisions. In Travancore, which is comparatively small, there are 420 castes, and in Mysore there are 84, with 340 subdivisions. Conversion to Christianity always involves loss of caste, and this implies

a social isolation which threatens even the means of existence. If a considerable number of the members of one caste are gained for Christianity, the members of every other caste bar themselves against it. The greatest evil of all would be if the Christian society itself came to be regarded as a caste. And thus caste, and the relation of Christianity to it, constitute one of the most difficult problems of Indian missions.¹

216. Christianity was undoubtedly known in the first centuries on the south-west coast of India (Malabar). Even if the legend of the missionary labour of the Apostle Thomas in India cannot bear criticism, yet the fact is indisputable that at the end of the second century Pantænus visited India from Alexandria, and that in the third and fourth centuries there were Christians there, who at a later time came under the influence of the Persian Nestorians. The Syrian or Thomas Christians of the present day, of whom there are still 300,000, are undoubtedly connected with these. This old Christianity was indeed soon isolated, and has remained in a degenerate state and without missionary influence. Then in the sixteenth century, with the Portuguese dominion, the Roman Church entered on mission work in India, which it has continued with varying energy till the present day; but in proportion to the length of time it has been at work and the large number of workers, some of them highly gifted, the result attained is, even quantitatively, but scanty (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Roman Christians²),—a ready-made criticism of the boastful rhetoric which depicts in brilliant colours especially the old heroic period of Xavier, Robert de Nobili, Jao de Brito, Lainez, and the rest, and which also extols with exaggerated phrase the present success.³ Neither the mere outward admission to the church, with which since Xavier's time the Roman mission has contented itself, nor the refined accommodation by which

¹ Warneck, *Ev. Missionslehre*, iii. 301.

² The Roman statistics, even the official statistics of the Propaganda, are very untrustworthy. For 1886 the *Miss. Catholicae* gave for India, including Ceylon, 1,185,000 Catholics; for 1891, 1,080,000; and for 1897, 1,178,000, each time apart from "about 300,000" Goanese under Portuguese jurisdiction: the last Government census gives 1,243,529 Catholics. The 300,000 Syrian Christians are reckoned by themselves. The Government census, however, does not include Ceylon, but does include Burma. If we deduct from the official statistics of the Propaganda the 247,000 pertaining to Ceylon, and add the 50,000 belonging to Burma, we have as the result 980,000 Catholics for the area included in the Government census of 1897. Whether the difference of 263,000 between this result and the Government census represents "those under Portuguese jurisdiction," or how it is to be explained, I am unable to perceive.

³ As type of the rhetorical writing of the history of missions may be cited Marshall's book, declared by Janssen to be "classic,"—*Christian Missions*, London, 1863; and as a critique on the same, Warneck, *Protestantische Beleuchtung der römischen Angriffe auf die evangelische Heidenmission*, Gütersloh, 1884, chap. ii.

De Nobili sought to filch the introduction of Christianity,¹ has been able to achieve greater or more enduring results.

217. Evangelical missions began their work in India² in 1706 at Tranquebar on the south-east coast, which was at that time a Danish possession. Its pioneers were the German missionaries Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plütschau, who were sent out by Frederick IV. of Denmark; both were pupils of August Hermann Francke, and most of their successors were also Germans and Pietists. Besides the natural difficulties connected with the beginning of the first mission in India, Ziegenbalg had also much to endure from the hostility of the Danish governor and from the unwise management of the authorities at home. He died so early as 1719, but by his preaching in the native tongue, by instruction, Bible translation, and the erection of a seminary for teachers and catechists, as well as by his prudent attitude towards Indian manners and customs, he had laid a good foundation. He gathered a little congregation, built a beautiful church, which is used up to the present day, and spread Christianity even beyond the bounds of Tranquebar. His second successor was Benjamin Schultze, an earnest but self-willed man, who was engaged especially in literary work and itinerary preaching. He afterwards went to Madras, at the cost of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and there gathered a congregation, and to his other literary productions added some elementary translations in Telugu. In Madras he was followed by Philip Fabricius, an extremely amiable and linguistically gifted missionary, who so admirably improved the Tamil translation of the Bible that in a new revision it is still in use to-day. Meanwhile the work in and around Tranquebar had gone on, and had spread already to Tanjore and even to Madura. In 1740 this old Lutheran mission had counted 5600 Christians. Then, ten years later, there entered on the work the man who became not only the most eminent of the old Lutheran missionaries, but one of the greatest of Indian missionaries in general—Christian Frederick Schwartz. During a period of service of nearly fifty years, ending with his death in 1798, he did a truly apostolic work. After twelve years of varied activity in and around Tranquebar, he was led to go, at the cost of the

¹ Müllbauer, *Geschichte der katholischen Mission in Ostindien*, Freiburg, 1852. Compare Warneck, *Prot. Beleuchtung*, 389. Even to-day the Roman Church not only endures, but actually favours, caste. The *Kath. Missionen*, 1899, No. 1, p. 15, praises the formation of a separate congregation of Brahmans as great wisdom.

² Hough, *History of Christianity in India from the Commencement of the Christian Era*, London, 1849–60, 5 vols. Sherring, *The History of Protestant Missions in India from their Commencement in 1706 to 1871*, London, 1875. G. Smith, *The Conversion of India from Paganism to the Present Time*, London, 1893. *The Church Miss. Atlas*, 8th ed., London, 1896, 81, India.

S. P. C. K., to which he afterwards entirely transferred his services, to Trichinopoly and later to Tanjore, from which place his missionary influence extended over the whole of South India, and in particular to Tinnevely. He was called the "King's priest," because the dying Rajah of Tanjore, with unbounded confidence in his honour, had entrusted him with the guardianship and education of the heir to his throne; but still more honourable was the name of "Father," accorded to him by the universal love and respect which he enjoyed among all the people.

His pupil Serfojee erected to his memory in the church of the fort at Tanjore a splendid marble monument with the inscription: "The spotless uprightness and purity of his life called forth as a tribute the respect of Christians, Mohammedans, and Hindus. For ruling princes, both Hindu and Mohammedan, chose the modest priest as intermediary in their political transactions with the British Government." And on the granite slab which covers his bones there stand these verses in English from the pen of the same Hindu prince—

"Firm wast thou, humble and wise,
Honest, pure, free from disguise;
Father of orphans, the widow's support,
Comfort in sorrows of every sort:
To the benighted, dispenser of light,
Doing and pointing to that which is right.
Blessing to princes, to people, to me,
May I, my father, be worthy of thee,
Wisheth and prayeth thy Serfojee."

Unfortunately this hopeful mission was supplied more and more poorly with money and men¹ from home, and the gifts of the English S. P. C. K., too, became scantier. And so the South Indian congregations, the membership of which about the beginning of the nineteenth century amounted at most to 15,000, went back both outwardly and inwardly because of the want of efficient care. It was only considerable remnants that were afterwards received into connection with the C. M. S. when, in 1813, it began its work in India, or attached themselves in 1845 to the Leipsic Mission of the Lutheran Church. In Tinnevely the work begun by Schwartz was carried on from 1814 to 1838 by a German missionary in the service of the C. M. S., Karl Rhenius, a pupil of Jänicke, who had been previously settled in Madras, a man regarding whom Caldwell, afterwards Bishop of Tinnevely—a High Churchman—bears

¹ The few more missionaries who were sent were—with the exception of Gericke and Jänicke—men unsuitable for the missionary vocation, good rationalists, who admired in Jesus the sage of Nazareth, and at best sought to perfect the morality of the heathen poets, but who could affirm the proposition that "missions must cease to be an institution for conversion."

this testimony: "A more able, discerning, practical, and zealous missionary India has hardly ever seen." His great merit is that he early laboured to give a healthy measure of ecclesiastical independence to the native congregations, and that he trained capable helpers from among the natives, with whose aid he succeeded in adding more than 10,000 souls to the existing congregations. He came into conflict with the Indian Episcopate and the C. M. S. on the question of episcopal ordination and matters connected with it, his ecumenical church standpoint having for a long time previously caused all sorts of friction. After being dismissed from the service of the C. M. S. in 1835, he laboured during the last years of his life (*d.* 1839) as a free missionary.

218. But we must return once more to 1793. In this year William Carey, whose acquaintance we have already made (pp. 75, 86) as the chief pioneer of the modern missionary movement in England, and the founder of the Baptist Missionary Society, set foot on the shores of India. As undismayed by the powerful opposition of the Government and the whole tendency of the time, so hostile to any mission, as he was undiscouraged by all the disappointments due to friends and the difficulties occasioned by his own mistakes and those of his fellow-workers, he held out for forty years on the battlefield till the victory was won.¹ The capital of Bengal shut its gates against him; and when he could not stay on British territory even as indigo-planter, he removed after some years to Serampore, at that time Danish, some six hours to the north of Calcutta, where the governor had already given a friendly reception to the two fellow-workers sent after him, Marshman and Ward. Here this "Serampore Trio" developed during many years a steadily growing evangelistic, educational, humanitarian, and, above all, literary activity, which has been of the most far-reaching significance for the work of missions in India, and has put to shame all attempts "to harry the nest of these consecrated cobblers." One translation of the Bible after another issued from the busy Serampore printing-press.² Conversions followed which attracted attention; and at the death of Carey in 1834, and of Marshman in 1837, there were 18 stations, of which Serampore was the parent, manned in part by native preachers, extending up to Allahabad and Benares, and even as far as Burma and Ceylon. Much trouble was caused by malicious slanders, by a great fire, by financial embarrassment,

¹ G. Smith, *The Life of William Carey, Shoemaker and Missionary, Professor of Sanskrit, Bengali, and Marathi in the College of Fort William, Calcutta*, London, 1885.

² Marshman even began, before the London missionary Morrison addressed himself to this work, a Chinese translation of the Bible, which was completed in 1822; and he published a *Clavis Sinica*.

and by a long-continued strife with the missionary administration at home. Yet the word was always, "Cast down, but not destroyed." The hostility to Carey reached its sharpest point after the departure of Governor-General Lord Wellesley in 1805. He had at least shown good-will to the scientific labours of the Serampore missionaries, and had even made Carey professor of Bengali in a college erected by him in Calcutta. At Carey's instigation he had also taken the first step towards the abolition by law of some cruel Indian practices, first of all that of the drowning of children; the burning of widows (Suttee) was not forbidden till 1829, under Lord Bentinck's administration. The "old Indians" became ever more embittered on account of the growing influence of the missionaries, forbade them all further work on British soil, and tried even to render impossible the continuation of the mission in Serampore. The missionaries were surrounded with spies; the matter of their writings was traduced by false English translations; they were charged with uttering provocative speeches;¹ and all this was used as a justification for shutting out the new missionaries of the L. M. S. and the American Board on their arrival.

This increase of hostility towards the missionaries, even to extreme intolerance, was the East India Company's answer to the attacks which meanwhile were being made in England on its wicked policy (p. 80). In earlier days, when the Company was purely an association for trade, it had put no hindrances in the way of the German missionaries in South India, and had even shown much favour to Schwartz. But when it had become a conquering power, it imagined its dominion would be threatened if the religion and customs of the Hindus were in any way interfered with. The Court of Directors frankly favoured Indian heathenism, and hated "the Saints" for this further reason, that the Anglo-Indians felt themselves embarrassed by them in their own immoral life. With the watchword, "Missions threaten the security of the Indian Government," they were denounced, and only after a struggle of 20 years, waged both in India and in England, was their battle won. In 1813 the British Parliament, moved by the powerful eloquence of the untiring Wilberforce, determined on the admission of the missionaries, and with the insertion of the

¹ For example, one of these "old Indians" asserted that he himself had seen Carey standing on a tub "haranguing" the crowd in the street with such unmeasured vituperation, that he would have been done for but for the intervention of the police. It was a slander without a shred of basis. Carey never preached in the streets of Calcutta; no missionary ever preached there from a tub; the police never interposed on behalf of any missionary. Afterwards the man acknowledged that he was only repeating a report.

so-called "pious clause"¹ into the renewed charter of the Company a new period in the history of Indian missions begins.

219. A condition was also introduced into the Company's new charter, which stipulated for the erection and extension of an Anglican Episcopal Church in India. By 1814 the first Bishop of Calcutta, Middleton, was already appointed, but he showed so little friendliness to missions as to refuse ordination to the missionaries of the C. M. S. This attitude on the part of the Indian Episcopate was, however, reversed in 1822 under Heber,² the second bishop, who was not only a warm friend of missions, but also became an active helper in their work, and ordained the first native pastor, Abdul Masih, a convert of Martyn. In 1835 and 1837 two other bishoprics, Madras and Bombay, were erected. The former diocese in 1877 obtained two missionary bishops for Tinnevely, one (Sargent) for the C. M. S. and one (Caldwell) for the S. P. G., and after the death of these two, Tinnevely and Madura became an independent bishopric in 1896. In 1877 and 1879 three more bishoprics were added,—Lahore, whose first bishop was French,³ the learned as well as practically able missionary of the C. M. S.; Rangoon, in Farther India, and Travancore with Cochin. In Rangoon the second bishop, and in Travancore the first, were missionaries, the one of the S. P. G., the other of the C. M. S. Lastly, an eighth bishopric was created in Chota Nagpur in 1890, and a ninth in Lucknow in 1892. The missionaries of the English Church missionary societies are under the jurisdiction of these bishops, who are now without exception promoters of missions, although the different positions they assume in regard to the different parties in the church lead to various kinds of friction.

A greater and earlier influence than that of the English episcopate, in the direction of a change in favour of missions, was exerted by 5 excellent chaplains of the Company, David Brown, Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie, and Thomas Thomason. By their personal piety and their biblical preaching, by courageously exposing and contending against the wretched circumstances of India, by their positive proposals for amelioration, and their open advocacy of the cause of the calumniated and persecuted missionaries, these men rendered pioneer service of the most effective character to Christianity, to the Anglican Church, and to evangelical missions in India. So early as 1788, Brown, along with two distinguished converted

¹ The clause read thus: "It is the duty of this country to encourage the introduction of useful knowledge and of religious and moral enlightenment into India, and in lawful ways to afford every facility to such persons as go to India and desire to remain there for the accomplishment of such benevolent purposes."

² Smith, *Bishop Heber*, London, 1895.

³ Birks, *The Life and Correspondence of Th. V. French*, London, 1895.

laymen in Calcutta, sketched the plan of an English Church mission, and gained for it the approval of Simeon, the pious Cambridge pastor, who extended it and helped to bring it to fruition. It was Buchanan who gave the first impulse to the erection of an Indian episcopate. Martyn, who carried the mission right on to Persia, and prepared a Persian translation of the Bible, exerted an electrical influence by an example of the most unselfish devotion to his calling. Corrie became later the first Bishop of Madras, and in that position actively fostered missions.

220. The new period of the Indian Mission, beginning in 1813, extends to 1857, when the great Mutiny broke out, which led to the abolition of the Company's rule. This period was characterised by a progressive occupation of the most diverse provinces of the great empire by an increasing number of English, German, and American societies, by all sorts of experiments in methods of work, and by the tardiness of the initial successes, except at Tinnevely, where the seed sown by Schwartz and Rhenius bore comparatively rich fruits. The work was taken up, or rather extended, most energetically by the English Dissenters of the London, Baptist, and Wesleyan Missionary Societies; the two English Church societies followed much more slowly. In 1825, Scottish missionaries began work; and from 1834 onwards Americans of different denominations, and German missionaries of the Basel, Leipsic, and Gossner Societies, entered the field.

Of far-reaching importance for the prosecution of missions were the first beginnings of a work among the Indian women and girls, which were made so early as 1822 by Miss Cooke of the C. M. S., who opened the first girls' school in Calcutta. These first modest endeavours, continued by Mrs. Marshman and Miss Tucker, and organised by the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East, which was founded in 1834, inaugurated amongst the female sex, which at the outset was quite inaccessible, the women's missions now so widely spread, especially the greatly blessed Zenana Mission. Of still greater moment was the entrance of the Scottish missionaries, particularly of Wilson and Duff, men of large mould,¹ with whom also Anderson was associated. Both Wilson and Duff were men of thorough scientific education, and they directed all their energy to the work of bringing the gospel near to the higher classes of the Indian population. For this end Wilson, besides the erection of Christian high schools, made use of positive preaching of the Gospel in the native language, which he had fully mastered, preaching based on a thorough understanding of the Indian religious conceptions and social rela-

¹ G. Smith, biographies already cited. Braidwood, *True Yoke-fellows in the Mission Field: the Life and Labours of J. Anderson and R. Johnston*, Lond. 1862.

tions. Duff sought to attain the same end mainly by means of solid school education conducted in the English language. Wilson, by his comprehensive studies of the Indian religions, his reliable apologetic arguments, and his diligent endeavours to find adequate expressions in the languages of the country for the fundamental conceptions of Christianity, gave a fruitful stimulus to a presentation of the Christian message of salvation which was really intelligible to the natives and appealed to them individually. Duff made the higher school instruction, which embraced all the branches of knowledge, but was centred around the Bible, a channel for missionary influence to extensive circles of the educated population, which deepened with time, and contributed not a little to raising Christianity in popular esteem. It was not his intention, in using the English language for instruction, to displace the native languages. He only wished it to serve as a channel for the conveyance of a deeper general and Christian education, which should then, through the medium of the native languages, spread itself gradually over the whole population. It is not our task here to weigh against each other the merits and defects of Duff's missionary method. It is, at any rate, a fact that this method has introduced into the process of Christianising India a leaven which is producing a powerful ferment up to the present day. The direct missionary result of it is indeed limited, if the conversions achieved be counted and not weighed; but so much the greater are the indirect results, not only the negative result that it has helped greatly to undermine heathenism, but also the positive result that it has rendered important services in the direction of a more friendly attitude towards Christianity.

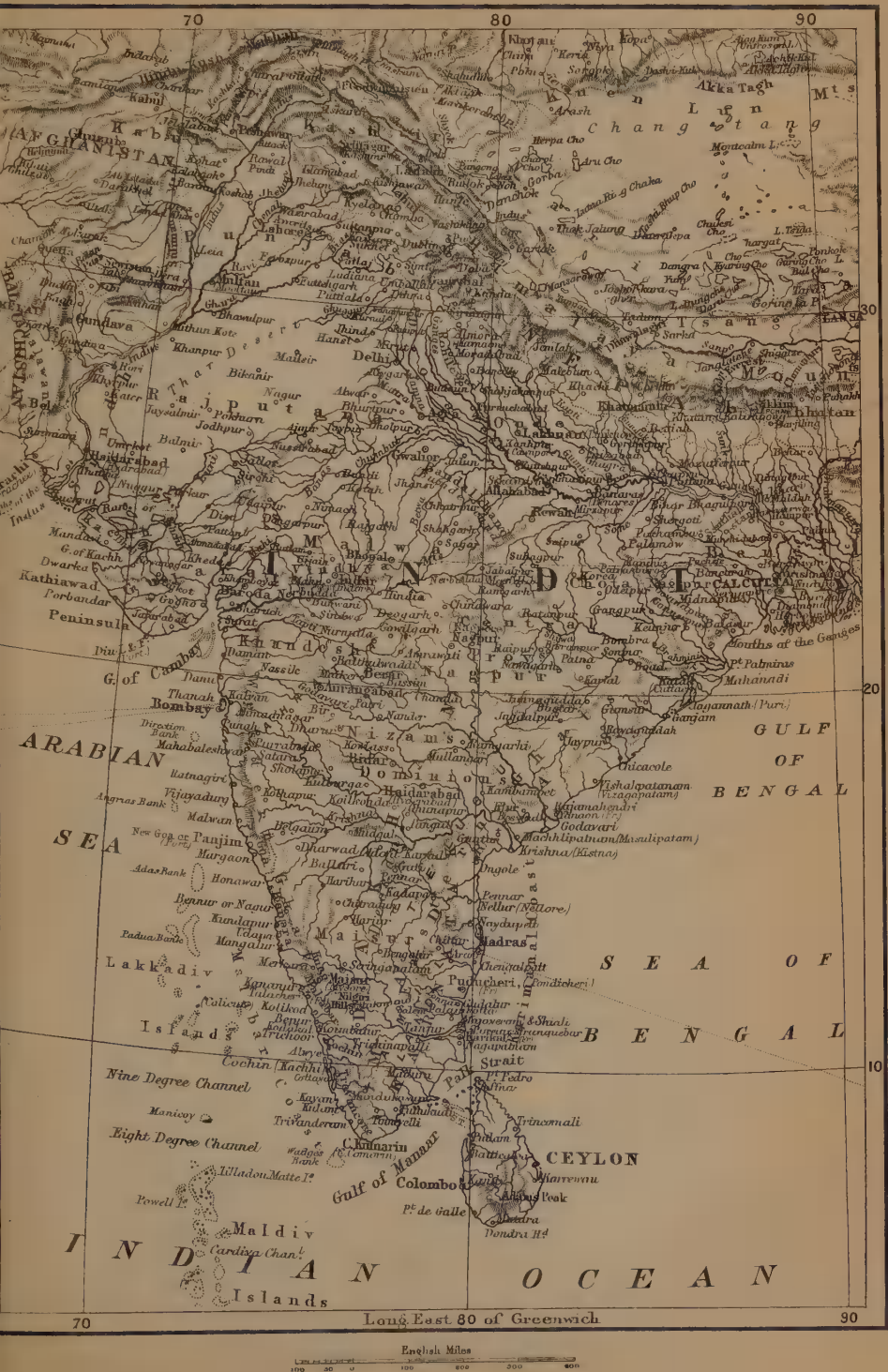
The success of missions increased but slowly. When the first general missionary statistics were issued in 1851, there were in India proper, exclusive of Burma and Ceylon, no more than 91,000 native evangelical Christians, and among these only about 15,000 communicants, divided over 260 far-scattered congregations. The number of pupils in the higher and elementary schools amounted to 64,000. It was still essentially the time of foundation laying.

With the influence of Christianity thus slowly increasing, the Anglo-Indian Government ventured, from the Thirties onwards, especially under the administration of the benevolent Lord Bentinck, to introduce a series of reforms which are also of significance for the history of Indian missions: the burning of widows and self-torture were forbidden; the Government patronage of idolatry was removed; natives were admitted to influential public offices without regard to belief; the right of inheritance was assured to natives who had become Christians; the higher schools were organised on the principles of Duff;

and support was given to mission schools of every kind, on condition of a certain attainment in subjects of secular instruction. In matters of religion the Government adopted the principle of neutrality; and though it did not always maintain it impartially with respect to Christianity, yet on the whole the time of opposition to the mission was past; indeed, there was an increasing number of pious Government officials, who privately rendered to missions various kinds of service.

221. Then there broke out in 1857 in North India the terrible Mutiny, which for a time seriously imperilled the continuance of the British dominion there. With its suppression the Company's rule came to an end, and the Queen of England in 1858 took over the government with a notable proclamation, in which she as decisively confessed her Christian faith as she assured her non-Christian subjects of religious liberty. This important step introduced a new period in Indian history, a period which, in spite of all that remains still to be desired, has brought the country an abundance of benefits; and it marks a new section in the history of missions. The anti-missionary party, which would gladly have made missions responsible for the outbreak of the Mutiny, in order to find a scapegoat for its own guilt, was so little able to debase popular opinion, that, on the contrary, the conviction became even more and more dominant that Christianity was the greatest benefit to be conferred on the Indo-British Empire, and the best guarantee for the permanence of British dominion. This conviction, which had begun to prevail owing to the fidelity of the native Christians during the Mutiny, and especially owing to the heroic courage of the Christian soldiers and statesmen, who by holding the Punjaub, the most threatened province, had saved India for Britain, received its first official expression on the occasion of the census of 1871, when the Government declared its indebtedness to "the benevolent exertions made by missionaries, whose blameless example and self-denying labours are infusing new vigour into the stereotyped life of the great populations placed under English rule, and are preparing them to be in every way better men and better citizens of the great empire in which they dwell."

Missions, too, had suffered severely from the Mutiny, but few of the North Indian stations having escaped destruction. Besides a number of missionaries, many native Christians had been murdered, who had chosen death rather than deny their faith. But the wheat-corns laid in the earth had brought forth much fruit, and North Indian missions arose to new life. Pious Indian Government officials, particularly the two Lawrences, R. Montgomery, Herbert Edwards, M. Taylor, D. Macleod, W.



Muir, R. Temple, and many others, were warm defenders and helpers of missions. The C. M. S. and the American Episcopal Methodists especially began in Northern and North-Western India a work which kept increasing in extent and in success, while in the South also, English, American, and German missions made considerable extensions, and Indian auxiliary societies, in particular literary and women's missions, gave increasing aid. Altogether there are now 60 evangelical missionary societies at work in India, of which, besides the two great Anglican societies (C. M. S. and S. P. G.), the London and Gossner Societies, the American Baptists and Episcopal Methodists have fully two-thirds of all the Indian Christians under their care. The German missions—Basel, Leipzig, Gossner, Moravians, Hermannsburg, and Schleswig-Holstein, which are represented in India by 194 missionaries and over 100,000 Christians—also occupy quite a respectable place.

222. The last missionary census took place in 1890.¹ It is instructive to review the numerical progress of missions in India proper (Burma and Ceylon being excluded) from the first census in 1851 onwards. We shall simply give the tables, without commenting on them:—

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1890
Foreign missionaries . . .	339	479	488	586	857
Native pastors ² . . .	21	97	225	461	797
Evangelical congregations . .	267	291	2,278	3,650	4,863
Communicants . . .	14,661	24,976	52,816	113,325	182,722
Native Christians ³ . . .	91,092	138,741	224,258	417,372	559,661
Higher schools ⁴ . . .	91	162	417	441	541
Scholars . . .	12,407	21,090	41,280	46,484	55,148
Elementary schools . . .	1,166	1,446	1,912	3,020	4,770
Male scholars . . .	40,449	38,936	54,241	84,760	122,193
Female scholars . . .	11,191	15,969	27,519	50,121	71,500
Total of all male and female scholars ⁵ . . .	64,043	75,995	122,372	107,652	279,716

¹ On this occasion in the same year as the decennial Government census, but independently of it. The missionary census was instituted by a General Indian Missionary Conference, which met for the third time in 1892 in Bombay, and which assembles every ten years. Although very defective, it is more reliable than the Government census. The last enumeration covers not ten, but only nine years, in order to bring the missionary statistics into conformity with the Government census, which takes place at the end of each decade.—*Protestant Missions in India, Burma, and Ceylon; Statistical Tables*, Calcutta, 1890.

² The native preachers, catechists, etc., who are not ordained are not included, for the statistics of these, owing to the indefiniteness of the titles, do not seem to be very reliable.

³ This class includes those baptized and the catechumens. Some societies, however, reckon mere "adherents."

⁴ Theological colleges, seminaries, and high schools.

⁵ Inclusive of orphan children, but exclusive of Sunday-school scholars.

These numbers, however, are very variously distributed over the different regions and classes of the population of the immense country. The great majority fall to the Madras Presidency, and next in order comes Bengal, while the Central Provinces have the smallest proportion. This distribution and the progress within the different provinces can best be shown by another statistical table:—

	CHRISTIANS.				
	1851	1861	1871	1881	1890
Bengal	14,117	20,518	46,968	83,583	108,901
North-West Provinces . .	1,732	3,942	7,779	12,709	30,321
Punjaub	98	1,136	1,870	4,762	20,709
Central Provinces . . .	271	526	2,509	4,885	11,343
Bombay	638	2,531	4,177	11,691	22,455
Madras	74,171	110,078	160,955	299,742	365,912
Total	91,027	138,731	224,258	417,372	559,641 ¹

	1851	COMMUNICANTS.			1890
Bengal	3,371	4,620	13,502	28,689	37,918
North-West Provinces . .	573	1,030	3,031	5,021	14,728
Punjaub	25	358	707	1,998	6,034
Central Provinces . . .	66	138	665	2,173	4,580
Bombay	290	1,100	1,591	4,887	9,122
Madras	10,334	17,730	33,320	70,607	110,276
Total	14,659	24,976	52,816	113,375	182,658

223. The great mass of the native Christians belong to the lower castes or to the casteless (as is even said now, to the 50

¹ Up to 1899 the most of these numbers, especially the number of native Christians, increased very considerably. At present only an estimate is possible, but we can scarcely err in putting this class down at 790,000 for 1900. There is one sure statistical result, namely, that in the forty years from 1851 to 1891, the number of Indian evangelical Christians has been multiplied more than sixfold, a result far in advance of the numerical result of the Roman mission. In 1891 the Roman mission had (according to the *Miss. Cath.*) 843,000 Indian Christians (excluding those in Burma and Ceylon). If it increased in the same proportion as evangelical missions, in 1851 there must have been only 141,000 Catholics in India. If this number be admitted to be correct, it is but a sorry result of more than 300 years of Catholic missionary activity. But if in 1851 the result of Roman missions was greater, and it was greater, then the progress of Roman missions since 1851 is much poorer than that of Protestant missions—*Tertium non datur*.

millions or so of Panshamas), and to the aboriginal tribes, hill-peoples, etc. In the case of many, the hope of improving their social and industrial condition has contributed to the acceptance of Christianity, and, as a matter of fact, missions have set on foot an improvement in their state, not only morally and intellectually, but also socially and economically. While, on the one hand, the comparatively great attachment of the people of the lower castes to Christianity has brought it into a certain contempt; on the other hand, the devotion and pains directed towards raising them have been matter of admiring recognition even on the part of the Brahmans, and begin to provoke some imitation among heathen Hindus. And it may well happen in India, as it happened in the ancient Roman empire, that the process of Christianisation will move from beneath upwards. The spiritual quality of these Christians is very varied. In most cases it is still very elementary, but there are many individuals who by their childlike faith, their intensity in prayer, and their self-sacrifice, do all credit to Christianity. Of the morality, the same holds true; with the great mass the upward movement from heathen immorality to Christian purity is very slow. So far as criminal statistics furnish a criterion, they tell in favour of the Christians. In South India there is 1 convicted of crime out of 2500 Christians, 1 out of 447 Hindus, and 1 out of 728 Moham-medans.

The number of converts from the higher castes seems to be increasing, although a larger Christian movement among them has not yet come. Among the Christians of these castes, whose conversion to Christianity is made difficult by the special sacrifice involved, there are many living disciples of Jesus who by word and conduct give proof of their faith; and among the native pastors there are outstanding phenomena, men like Banerji, Sheshadri, Saththianadhan, Koshi, Bose, Imaduddin, who also carry on a literary work which may well be set side by side with that of the first Christian apologists. It may also be presumed that the majority of the 52 native Christian jurists, 590 qualified doctors, 1098 Government officials, and 646 authors and editors, consists of those belonging to the higher castes. The number of baptized people is far exceeded by that of the "Secret Christians," who either lack the courage to step over openly, or regard baptism as a superfluous ceremony. Though the edifice of Hinduism is not yet tottering, it is at least crumbling; and were it not for the thralldom of caste, which even the average Hindu with an European education is too faint-hearted to break, it would in itself alone have far less power

of resistance. It is true that along with Western civilisation and the higher school education, cared for as it is by a Government neutral in matters of religion, a broad stream of modern unbelief is rolling into the land, and under its influence an educated proletariat is growing up which rejects everything with as much arrogance as superficiality, and constitutes an object for missionary effort almost more difficult than the most bigoted orthodox heathen. And yet this movement has a part in the process of undermining, which, though it does nothing positively to prepare a way for Christianity, at any rate removes obstacles from its path.

224. The case is similar with the many kinds of reform movements that have been originated by enlightened Hindus. The enthusiastic hopes that for some time were bound up in the so-called Brahmo Somaj movement,¹ particularly under its rhetorical leader, Keshub Chander Sen, have not indeed been fulfilled, as its sober critics predicted at the outset. The movement, whose real father was Ram Mohun Roy, originated from an apprehension of religious truth, but it degenerated more and more, either to an ordinary rationalistic liberalism, or to a mysticism rich in phrases and ceremonies, and its whole energy was spent in words. Though in its language often much inclined to Christianity and friendly to missions, it has not on the whole proved a bridge to Christianity, nor has it exerted any noteworthy reformatory influence on Hinduism. Nevertheless it was a characteristic symptom of the religious ferment which the Christian leaven, along with Western education, had begun to stir among the Hindus. An equally characteristic symptom is afforded by the direct reactions of the old Indian heathenism against the efforts of Christian missions. These take the form both of a polemic, partly coarse and abusive, partly trimmed with science, which borrows its weapons from the arsenal of European unbelief, and of an attempted apologetic on behalf of Hinduism. Both forms of the heathen reaction imitate the Christian missionary method. They found tract societies, distribute literature, send out itinerant preachers, and even attempt the founding of schools. As is the case with the heathen attempts at reform, reactions of this kind first make their appearance when Christianity has begun to become a power, and to this extent they are a sign of increasing missionary success. The support which the heathen reactionary movement has received from some adventurous American and European renegades—Colonel Olcott, Madame Blavatsky, Mrs. Besant—is only a piece of

¹ Collet, *Keshub Chander Sen: the Brahmo Somaj; Lectures and Tracts*, London, 1870.

theatrical fireworks, which receives too much honour when it is taken seriously.

225. Besides the old missionary instrument of preaching, which is also employed now in the form of English addresses to the educated, and instruction, an increasingly important place has been taken within the last decade, especially in Northern India, by medical work, including that done by women (begun by the American ladies, Miss Swain and Miss Seelye), by the work of women for the female sex, including the Zenana, village, and school missions, and by literary work. The number of medical missionaries is over 100; that of their native assistants is twice as large, and of the hospitals about 170. There is also quite a number of leper asylums, the founding of which is due chiefly, though not exclusively, to a special "Mission to the Lepers." The lady missionaries increased from 370 in 1871 to 711 in 1890, their female native helpers from 837 to 3278 in the same time; and in the course of the Nineties these numbers received a further considerable addition. Forty years ago the women's apartments were as good as inaccessible, but now 50,000 of them are open to the Zenana mission. Even Hindu women take a share in this work, among whom the *Pundita* Ramabai is conspicuous. With devoted self-sacrifice she interests herself especially in the young Hindu widows, and in the last famine she rendered extensive assistance. The whole Bible is translated into 13 of the chief languages of India, and the New Testament into 13 others. The religious literature of books and fugitive writings amounts to hundreds, if not thousands, and a multitude of newspapers and journals in English or one of the Indian languages represent the interests of Christianity both to the higher and to the lower classes of the population. The organisation of the congregations is almost everywhere progressing, and if the formation of fully independent Indian churches is as yet a mere hope for the future, nevertheless the process of training for these is proceeding on sound lines, both by steady increase in the number of native pastors, by growing financial attainments, and by the more and more general introduction of church government, for the most part by synods.

226. To this sketch of the history of Indian missions we now add a brief survey of the extensive Indian mission field. Although its various parts cannot always be adjusted to the political divisions of the country,¹ in this survey we shall keep

¹ The old division into three Presidencies (Bengal, Madras, and Bombay) no longer exists. In their stead there are now 12 administrative provinces of very unequal extent (Punjab, North-West Provinces, Central Provinces, Bombay,

as close to these as possible, making our way from the south to the north.

South India, which consists mainly of the Madras Presidency and the vassal States of Travancore (with Cochin) and Mysore, contains, as was remarked before, the most compact body of Christians. Here are the Thomas Christians, and here Roman missions since Xavier's time have had the great mass of their adherents, and here, moreover, evangelical missions, which were instituted by Ziegenbalg, and had as pioneers Schwartz and Rhenius, count 475,000 to 500,000 Christians.

227. The eastern part of the southern point of India, as far as the city of Madras, consists of Tamil Land, or more exactly the region of the Tamil language. Tinnevely, already referred to repeatedly, is its most southerly district. Here the two Anglican societies took over the inheritance of the old Lutheran missionaries, which was, to be sure, somewhat embarrassed. Rhenius struck out new paths, and a number of excellent workers, among whom Sargent and Caldwell—both subsequently missionary bishops—were especially prominent, extended the fruitful mission field almost over the whole country.¹ Particularly among the Shanar (rice farmers) Christianity more and more found an entrance; the famine at the end of the Seventies brought an increase to be reckoned by tens of thousands, but there was much chaff among the grain. From an early period the training of a native pastorate received careful attention. The two Anglican societies employ at present over 130 ordained Tinnevely pastors, so that they have been able to reduce greatly the number of English missionaries; in the case of the C. M. S. the reduction has been made somewhat too quickly and to an excessive degree. The church organisation is exemplary, and the way is being opened up for the formation of an independent Anglican church in Tinnevely. The total number of Anglican Christians, who are distributed over more than 1300 localities, amounts at present to 83,000, and it would have been still greater if a rigorous—perhaps too rigorous—course of action towards the still existing remnants of caste had not driven some 8000 to attach themselves to the Roman mission. Of the numerous educa-

Madras, Bengal, Assam, Burma, Ajmeer, Berar, Kung, Andaman, and Nicobar). Of the 153 vassal States under native princes, the most important are Kafiristan, Cashmere, Nepaul, the Rajputana States, the Mahratta States (Gwalior, Indore, Baroda), Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin. [There has just been formed in the beginning of 1901 another administrative province on the extreme north-west frontier.—Ed.]

¹ Caldwell, *Lectures on the Tinnevelly Missions*, London, 1857. Pettitt, *The Tinnevelly Mission of the C. M. S.*, London, 1851. Stock, *History of the C. M. S.*, London, 1899, i. 182, 312, ii. 176, iii. 162.

tional institutions, the Sarah Tucker Institute in Palamkotta deserves special mention. It is conducted by the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, and in the course of the last 20 years has sent out over 300 native female teachers, who have all passed the Government examination.

228. North of Tinnevely lies Madura, which in the beginning of the seventeenth century was the scene of the activity—no less admired than condemned—of Robert de Nobili. Evangelical missions made their first beginning here in the Thirties of the nineteenth century, and are represented by the S. P. G., the American Board,¹ and the Leipzig Missionary Society, the last having only three stations here. There are in Madura some 23,000 Christians, of whom a considerable percentage have been converted in somewhat large groups. In the old kingdoms of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, which march on the north and north-east, we once more encounter, besides the S. P. G., the Leipzig Mission, extending as far as the coast, and having here 14 of its 30 stations, the most important of them being Majaveram, Poréiar, Shiali, Tanjore, and the ancient Tranquebar; after these two societies the Wesleyans also entered on work here. The number of Christians belonging to the three societies together is 21,000. The region still farther north, up to the boundaries of the domain of the Tamil language, embraces the southern part of the Coromandel Coast with its hinterland, as far as Madras in the north-east and Coimbatore in the south-west. The city of Madras forms the centre of this extensive district, in which we again come on the tracks of the old Lutheran missionaries, Schultze, Fabricius, and Rhenius. Eight different missionary societies have one after another taken possession of Madras, and of these, the Leipzig Mission, the two Anglican societies, and particularly the two Scottish missions, exert the greatest influence,—the two last chiefly by means of their largely attended higher schools. The Madras Christian College of the United Free Church of Scotland, founded by Anderson in 1837, and now presided over by Miller, has about 1800 students, and ranks as the most excellent of all the higher educational institutions of India. The city congregations of Madras had in 1890 altogether 7000 native Christians. The congregation of 2230 Christians belonging to the C. M. S. is fully independent and is administered by native pastors alone, of whom Sathianadhan, who died in 1892, attained special distinction. Westwards from Madras the Reformed Dutch Church of America has a mission in Arcot (south), which was given over to it in 1857 by the Amer-

¹ Anderson, *History of the Missions of the A. B. C. F. M. in India*, Boston, 1875, 220.

ican Board, and which has now 23 congregations with 9000 Christians. A special characteristic of this mission is that all of the eight sons of its founder, Dr. Scudder¹ (*d.* 1855), as well as two grandsons and two granddaughters, have been—and some still are—in its service. In the south and south-west the Leipzig Mission has 9 other stations between the east coast and Coimbatore, and alongside of it there are at work the S. P. G., the L. M. S., the Episcopal Methodists, and others, having altogether about 21,000 native Christians.

229. To the north of Madras, though not exactly at the bounds of the Presidency, the Tamil language domain passes into that of the Telugu. In the south-eastern part of the Telugu region, the Hermannsburg mission has since 1866 gathered over 1800 baptized Christians at 9 stations; of these, Naydupett has the largest congregation, and there, too, is the seminary. Farther northward is the fruitful mission field of the American Baptists (B. M. U.), in which, after twenty years of almost fruitless labour, great multitudes have, since the end of the Sixties, been turning to Christianity. When, after twelve years of discouraging work, missionary Jewet came to America to recruit, the field would have been abandoned, had not the sick missionary declared: "I know not what you will do. But for myself, if the Lord gives me my health, I will go back to live and, if needs be, to die among the Telugu." "Then," was the answer, "we must surely send a man to give you a Christian burial." So the mission was continued, and to-day in this region, once so unfruitful, there are 25 chief stations and almost 300 out-stations, with 53,600 communicants (the district of Ongole alone has 19,000 Christians), and yearly this number is increased by from 1500 to 2000; so that the 32 American missionaries and 70 ordained native preachers have plenty to do with the work of spiritual oversight. In the field of the L. M. S., which adjoins to the west, there was a similar Christian mass-movement, especially among the out-caste Mala within the circle of the stations Guti and Caddapa; but from want of workers full advantage of the movement has not been taken. At the society's 8 chief stations and 190 out-stations, 20,000 Christians have been gathered. The harvest of the S. P. G. in its Telugu mission is not so considerable—about 10,000 Christians. In the region of the estuary of the two large rivers, Crishna and Godavari, lies the Telugu mission of the C. M. S., which is concentrated around the three districts of Masulipatam, Ellur, and Beswada, and has 15,000 Christians. At Masulipatam is the Robert

¹ H. E. Scudder, *D. C. Scudder*, New York, 1864. Waterbury, *J. Scudder*, New York, 1870.

Noble College, named after the founder of the station, from which a number of young converts have been sent out who afterwards attained great influence. In this field of the C. M. S., as in its other fields, the church organisation is in process of healthy development. To the south and north of the rivers named above, in addition to various free missionaries and the Canadian Baptists (with 13,000 Christians), the American Lutherans are at work—those of the General Synod at Gantur and those of the General Council at Rajamandri,—and have achieved considerable success (31,000). In close proximity to them the Schleswig-Holstein Missionary Society labours in and around Jaipur, after a vain attempt to press into the closed Bastar. Of its 6 stations, however, only 2 are within the Telugu language domain. This still youthful mission is flourishing hopefully (1500 baptized Christians).

The great vassal State of Haiderabad—the Nizam's dominions—which adjoins on the west, belongs to the Telugu region in the west only, and in the east to the regions of the Marathi and Kanara languages. Here for a long time missions were refused admittance. Now work is carried on by the Anglicans, the American Episcopal Methodists, the American Baptists, and the Wesleyans at a great number of stations, with as yet, however, but moderate success (6000 Christians).

230. We must now return once more to the southern point of India. Before, however, continuing our wanderings up the west coast within the Madras Presidency, we shall make an excursion to the island of Ceylon, famed for its natural beauty. Its population amounts to over 3 millions, and, apart from the Veddahs, the small remnant of the rough aboriginal Dravidian population, consists mainly of the descendants of Arab conquerors,—the Singhalese,—of immigrant Tamils, of the offspring of Arab (Moorish) traders, and all varieties of Portuguese and Dutch half-breeds (Burghers). The predominating religion of the country is Buddhism, mingled with Brahmanism, Nature- and Demon-worship, and other crude superstitions: its chief sanctuary, with the famous tooth of Buddha, is in Kandy.

The first work in Christianisation in Ceylon dates as far back as the middle of the sixteenth century, having been begun in connection with the Portuguese dominion. The Dutch, who a century later drove out the Portuguese, in propagating Protestantism, followed just the same outward and mechanical method, supported by allurements and force, as the Portuguese (p. 45). Hundreds of thousands adopted a semblance of Christianity, which consisted mainly of the sprinkling with baptismal water, partly in the expectation of all manner of gain,

partly from fear of punishment. Hardly any care at all was given to the baptized. Schools were indeed established, but teachers were wanting, and but few could read the New Testament translated into Singhalese. Of the few colonial clergymen, it was seldom that one understood the language of the country. It is little wonder that this house built on the sand fell in ruins when, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Dutch dominion came to an end. The English Government, which dissolved it, had at that time not the slightest regard for mission work, and in consequence the Ceylonese took advantage of its absolute religious indifference to shake off a yoke which they had never felt to be an easy one. The evangelical missions, which pushed into the field in the second decade of the nineteenth century, had to lay an entirely new foundation. After an unsuccessful attempt on the part of the L. M. S., the work was taken up, one after another, by the Baptists from Serampore, the Wesleyans, the American Board, the C. M. S., and the S. P. G., and it is still chiefly in their hands; and it is comprehensible how, after the deterrent incidents of the older missions, the new missions achieved only a slow success, and not without manifold reverses. Their chief centres are Jaffna in the north, Kandy in the middle, Colombo and Galle in the south-west and south. A very comprehensive school work centres round these points, and it is mainly in wide circles around them that the work of missionary itineracy is so extensively carried on.

231. Let us now pass through the island from north to south. In Jaffna, which, like the whole north-western part of Ceylon, has mainly a Tamil population, we find the Wesleyans, the English Church societies, and the American Board; the Wesleyans have 23 stations, of which a number are on the north-east coast, and 3000 Christians, besides 10,000 scholars; the English Church has 5 pastorates with 1500 Christians and 3700 scholars; and the American Board has 7 chief stations with 3300 Christians and almost 10,000 scholars. In the central province of Kandy, in which itinerant mission work flourishes remarkably both among the Singhalese and among the coolie Tamils, the C. M. S. has over 5000 Christians at 20 stations, with more than 9000 scholars; and the Wesleyan Missionary Society over 3500 Christians at 10 stations, with a like number of scholars. In the Colombo and Galle district the S. P. G. predominates, with 5000 Christians and almost as many scholars at 15 chief stations, of which some, however, lie outside of this district. There belong to the C. M. S. here 15 stations with some 4000 Christians and over 4000 scholars; and to the Wesleyans, 28 stations with 5000 Christians and

over 9000 scholars. The total number of evangelical Christians in Ceylon is thus, in round numbers, 32,000. A backward movement appears to have set in, which, however, is not explained in the reports.

Since 1845, Ceylon has constituted a separate bishopric of the Anglican Church. The claims to the leadership of the mission made by Coplestone, the present bishop, who belongs to the most advanced ritualists, led to a sharp conflict between him and the evangelical C. M. S.; after prolonged discussions, a decision was given by an episcopal college of umpires in England, which was on the whole in favour of the society.

232. From Ceylon we shall turn again to the south of the Indian continent, on the west or Malabar Coast. There the chief language domains are those of the Malayalim, the Kanara, and the Marathi, the last of which brings us within the Bombay Presidency. Almost entirely in the Malayalim region are the most southerly territories of the west coast, the two still half-independent kingdoms of Travancore and Cochin, which are separated from the southern Tamil country by the Western Ghats mountains. In these the caste-system and the dominion of the Brahmans flourish in special strength. So long ago as 1806 the first evangelical missionary entered southern Travancore, the pious and talented, though somewhat eccentrically ascetic, Ringeltaube, who had been appointed from Halle to the service of the L. M. S., and there he laboured with success for ten years. Through many a struggle the society continued his work, with so much success that it has gathered here a Christian community of 63,000, which for the most part is under the care of native pastors and teachers. Somewhere about the time of Ringeltaube, Chaplain Buchanan, who is already known to us, directed attention to the old Syrian or Thomas Christians,—independent of Rome,—who have their home in Travancore and number about 300,000 souls.¹ His *Christian Researches*, which awakened universal interest in the Oriental Christians, and a direct invitation from Munro, the English Resident, so influenced the C. M. S., that from 1816 onwards it sent a succession of able men (Baker, Fenn) to Travancore in order to quicken the Syrian Church from within, chiefly by the education of pastors well grounded in the Bible. A work in this direction carried on for twenty years produced the most hopeful results, till, in the beginning of the Thirties, a new Metropolitan, hostile to reform, put an end to the efforts that

¹ Collins, *Missionary Enterprise in the East, with especial reference to the Syrian Christians of Malabar*, London, 1873.

were being made; despite this check, the old seed bears fruit up to the present day. A heathen mission proper was then begun, and many awakened Thomas Christians united with heathen converts in forming evangelical congregations, with Cottayam as centre, which have to-day a membership of 39,000. A sectarian movement of the so-called Six-Year People, who expected the Second Advent of Christ in 1861, passed over without doing much harm. From Travancore, where the work of the congregations is chiefly in the hands of natives, the C.M.S. passed over to occupy the small State of Cochin (at Trichur), and founded here also among the Arayer, a hill-people in the Ghats, a branch mission (at Mundakayam) which includes several thousand Christians.

233. In Malabar, which adjoins Cochin on the north, and likewise belongs to the Malayalim language region, we come on the most southerly part of the Basel mission field, which is of great extent and includes many languages. Its first station, Talacheri, was occupied by Gundert in 1839; Hebich, an original man, passed over to Kannanur in 1841, and Fritz took possession of Calicut in 1842. Calicut is the most important of the Malabar stations, and after it comes Kodakal. Different from Malabar in respect of race and language is the beautiful mountain region of the Neilgheri (Blue Mountains) in the south-east, with Ottakamand, a favourite summer resort of the English. Various missions have also sanatoria here for workers in need of rest. But there are also mission stations. Besides 2 Basel stations, the Wesleyans have a few, and the American Reformed and the C.M.S. have one each. The native population of the Toda and the Badaga is, however, a hard soil: the most of the adherents of the Christian congregations there (1600 Christians) are immigrant Tamils. Just as difficult a field is the Kurg country, north-east of Malabar, which is inhabited by the Kodaga tribe and contains 2 Basel stations. Malabar is bordered on the north by Kanara, which stretches along the coast and extends into the Bombay Presidency. Its northern portion, with the station Honor, is, on account of its language, reckoned by the Basel Missionary Society along with South Mahratta. In the whole of Kanara, including Tulu Land, with its distinct language, this society has again 7 stations (inclusive of Honor), of which Mangalore and Udapi are the chief. The Basel mission field, however, extends still farther north into South Mahratta Land, but the missionary result at its 5 chief stations there is of the scantiest. Altogether in its Indian mission field the Basel Mission reckons 15,000 baptized Christians, and in its splendid schools

9500 pupils of both sexes. It is characteristic of this mission that connected with it is a great mission industry,—weaving, brick-work, joiner-work,—which was originally called into being in order to give employment for Christians repudiated by their caste or otherwise suffering from want, a pattern which has been followed to a large extent in other missions.

Eastward of Kanara, and still within the Madras Presidency, lies the vassal State of Mysore, which is mostly in the Kanara language domain. There London missionaries have long been working from Bellary as centre, and English and American Methodists and the S. P. G. are also engaged, but the result has been slight (7000 Christians). The Leipzig Missionary Society, too, has one station in Bangalore for Tamils.

234. In Mahratta we find ourselves in the Bombay Presidency, to which North Kanara has already introduced us. On the east Mahratta is bounded by a line of dependent States, from Mysore in the south across Hyderabad to Rajputana; on the west it runs up the coast as far as Gujarat and Scinde, and to the north-west it reaches as far as Baluchistan. Besides Marathi, Gujarati and Scindi are the chief languages. The population, which is very mixed, even with respect to religion, is a rather unfruitful soil for missions. The statistical result will at present scarcely exceed 35,000 evangelical Christians, inclusive of those of the Basel Mission belonging to this territory.

The oldest evangelical mission in Mahratta is that of the American Board, which has now about 7000 Christians. From 1820 onwards they were followed successively by the C. M. S. (3000 Christians), the L. M. S. (only 200 Christians at Belgam station, northward of Goa), the S. P. G. (6000 Christians), and the Free Church of Scotland (2700 Christians). The region occupied by these missions has its chief centre about Bombay and the district east of it. In the city of Bombay itself, where, besides the societies named, Baptists and Methodists are also at work, the native Christians do not yet number much over a thousand, and this in spite of the splendid higher schools, here again especially those of the United Free Church of Scotland (Wilson College). It does not quite reconcile us to this meagre statistical result to be told that the influence of the mission goes far beyond statistics. Of the other stations, in addition to Ahmednagar and Nasik, which was formerly celebrated for its asylum for liberated East African slaves, Aurangabad in Haiderabad, and Poona are worthy of special mention. Here successful work was carried on by a convert of Duff's, the former Brahman, Narajan Sheshadri, particularly in evangelis-

ation, and, by means of her asylum for widows, by the Brahman widow Pandita Ramabai, who did a great work of rescue in the last famine for hundreds of orphan girls. In Gujarat the Irish Presbyterians have since 1841 been engaged in a hopeful work, which is now prosecuted at 10 chief stations. They have, however, as yet only gained about 3000 Christians, whom they have also endeavoured with some success to elevate both industrially and socially. Last of all, in Scinde, which ecclesiastically is reckoned in the bishopric of Lahore, there are only 5 mission stations, which belong to the C. M. S. and the American Episcopal Methodists, and which all alike have still but small congregations. The majority of the population here is Mohammedan; indeed, throughout the whole of the Bombay Presidency, and particularly in the dependent States, Mohammedans are numerous, there being about $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions of them. Although here and there with varying energy missionary effort has been directed towards them, the result has been only a few individual conversions.

Eastward of Gujarat and Scinde lies Rajputana, with its numerous small vassal States surrounding the British Ajmeer. Mission work here is carried on mainly by the United Free Church of Scotland¹ and the American Episcopal Methodists, and also by the C. M. S. among the hill-people of the Bhils; but they number only one or two thousand Christians.

235. Turning northwards from Scinde and Rajputana, we reach the Punjab, or Land of the Five Rivers. Half of it consists of semi-independent States,—Cashmere and 35 smaller ones,—and a great variety of languages prevails in it; of 9, the most important are Punjaubi, Hindi, Urdu, and Pushtu. Half of the population is Mohammedan; Hindus make up the great part of the remainder, and there are almost $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Sikhs. Evangelical missions have been very active here, especially since the period following the great Mutiny; and although up to the present the statistical result seems to be but small,—about 32,000 Christians,—yet by itinerant preaching, as well as by the work of the schools and the medical mission, much good seed has been scattered far and wide, which promises a large harvest in the future. The greatest activity

¹ [This mission was begun by the United Presbyterian Church in 1859 with Williamson Shoolbred as pioneer. It has now 9 principal stations, 3 of which are in British territory and the rest in native States. By its medical mission work, boys' and girls' schools, and admirable Zenana work, it is exercising a growing influence. There are 695 communicants, and 3 ordained native pastors, supported by the people, and several licentiates. The last famine has left about 1600 orphans under the care of the mission. The solidity of the work accomplished is generally recognised. The other two missions in Rajputana are very small.—Ed.]

has been shown by the C. M. S., which, largely invited and supported by pious Government officials and officers (the two Lawrences, Montgomery, Edwardes, Martin), came gradually to occupy a field as large as it is important with a succession of very able men,—Clark, Fitzpatrick, Batty, Elmslie, Ridley, Trumpp, Hughes, and above all French,—and has also organised its work admirably. Its stations fall into the two groups of the Central and Frontier stations. The leading Central stations are Multan, Amritsar, and Lahore, the two last being surrounded by a large circle of out-stations. Of the Frontier stations, which are the points of departure for the Indian Frontier countries, the principal are Kochur (once Prochnow's station), with Simla and Kangra (on the Himalaya), Srinagar, in Cashmere, Peshawar, on the famed Khyber Pass in Afghanistan, Bannu, Dera Ismael Khan, and Dera Ghazi Khan in Baluchistan. Of some 6000 Christians gathered here by the C. M. S., many are Mohammedans, and one of these, the learned Dr. Imaduddin, recently dead, exerted a great influence, especially through his literary work.¹

In the Southern Punjab,—in Delhi and the surrounding district,—in addition to the C. M. S., the Baptists and the S. P. G. are at work; and in the east and centre, at Lodiāna² and Lahore, the American Presbyterians (Dr. Newton) and Methodists and the Church of Scotland. These have gathered at numerous stations altogether 26,000 Christians, of whom the great majority belong to the Presbyterians.

In the (West) Himalaya district of Kunawar, Lahul, and Ladakh, which are still reckoned as part of the Punjab, and are subject to British rule either directly or indirectly, the Moravians began work at the end of the Fifties among the Buddhistic Tibetan population. This work was to be the starting-point for a mission in Tibet proper, but up till now this design has not been realised. At the three stations of Pu, Kyelang, and Leh, to which a fourth, Chini, is now added, in spite of the very faithful and patient work of excellent missionaries, only small congregations with some 80 Christians altogether have as yet been gathered. Most excellent work has been accomplished by Jäschke in the investigation

¹ To the Chicago Congress of Religions Imaduddin sent a paper, in which he related the history of his own conversion, and gave the names of some 90 eminent Mohammedans converted to Christianity.—“In memoriam: the Rev. Maulvi Imad-ud-din,” *C. M. Intelligencer*, 1900, p. 932. [Dr. Imaduddin, whose theological degree was conferred on him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, died in the latter half of 1900.—ED.]

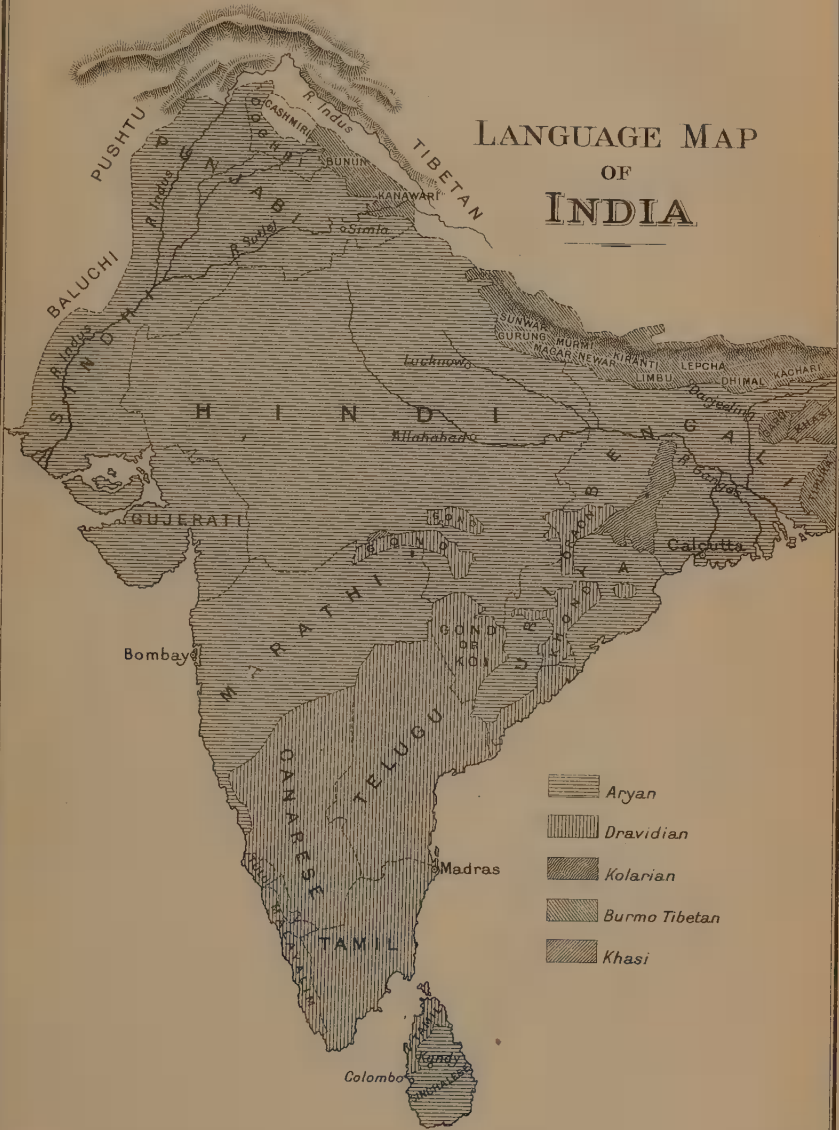
² From this place was issued in 1859 the invitation to the observance of a week of universal prayer in the beginning of the year, which is still very widely maintained.

of the language. He and Redslob translated the Bible into Tibetan.

236. South-east of the Punjaub and east of Rajputana lie the densely populated North-West Provinces with Oude: this region is the centre of Hinduism, and contains its chief sanctuaries. Of the 58 cities of India which have a population of more than 60,000, there are here 14, including Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Allahabad, and Benares. The chief language is Hindi, but in the towns Urdu is also much spoken. On the whole the soil here is a hard one for missions; within the last ten years, however, the number of Christians has increased considerably, and to-day it is some 80,000. The way was opened up for the Gospel by various Government chaplains, particularly Martyn and Corrie, and by individual Baptists, but it was not till much later that the work was taken up by the missionary societies, particularly by the C. M. S., the S. P. G., the American Episcopal Methodists and Presbyterians, the L. M. S., and the English Baptists. Of these the Episcopal Methodists have in their two principal districts (east of the Ganges with Oude, and west and south of the Ganges, and including the smaller district in Rajputana and the Central Provinces) 68,000 communicants and catechumens. At many of their stations mass-conversions have taken place within the last decade, but unfortunately these do not seem to have been preceded by any thorough instruction. According to the latest reports, a considerable sifting has taken place. The work of the C. M. S. is carried on in connection with three chief centres: Agra, with which are connected various stations up along the western frontier of the Province, where from 1840 to 1855 a great influence was exerted by Pfander, in particular among the Mohammedans; then (quite near to Agra) Sikandra, with its large orphanages, a village Zenana mission, and a largely attended training institution for native woman helpers; at Sikandra, too, the lady missionaries of the Berlin Women's Union are at work; and thirdly, Lucknow, in Oude (with Faisabad), and Benares in the south-west (with Allahabad and Gorakhpur). Of the work here, Smith and Leupolt were the able pioneers from 1832 onwards.¹ The total number of Christians at all the stations belonging to these three groups amounts to nearly 5000. The fields of the other missionary societies are partly in the same districts and partly in the north of the Province, in the Himalaya districts of Garhwal (Paori, Dehra) and Kamaon (Almora), in Rohilkand (Amroha, Bareli, Moradabad), in the Duab plain (Farakhabad),

¹ Leupolt, *Recollections of an Indian Missionary*, London, 1862; and *Further Recollections*, 1884.

LANGUAGE MAP OF INDIA



and in the Benares district. There is here also the Ganges field of the Gossner Mission (to be carefully distinguished from its Kols mission), which, however, with several of its stations, penetrates into the Province of Bengal. But in spite of faithful work done by zealous missionaries,—by Ribbentrop in Chapra and Ziemann in Ghasipur,—no real success has as yet been attained. The congregations move rather backward than forward. The adjacent mission of the English Baptists at Patna, which likewise belongs to Bengal (Bihar), is also rather unfruitful.

237. To the south of the North-West Provinces lie the Central Provinces, with Berar. Distinct from these, and situated between the two, are the vassal States south-east of Rajputana (Gwalior, Indore, etc.), which form the Central Indian Agency. In the latter the only workers are American and Canadian Presbyterians and an Anglican High Church brotherhood; their activity is limited to a few stations, and only in recent times has it begun to show some result. In the British territory there is a considerable variety of languages: in the north Hindi is spoken, in the east Uriya, in the west Marathi, in the south Telugu, and Gondi and Kurku are used by the Dravidian hill-tribes. Of all the Provinces of India, the Central Provinces have hitherto afforded the least entrance to Christianity (about 12,000 Christians), although there has been no want of missionary effort. The field of the C. M. S. here centres around Jabalpur and at Mandla, from which a mission has been commenced among the Gondhs. There are also to be found here missionaries of the United Free Church of Scotland (Nagpur¹), the Swedish Fatherland Institution (Sagar), the Anglican Cowley Brotherhood (Chanda), and, most successful of all, the German Evangelical Synod of North America (Bisrampur). There are also Episcopal Methodists, Quakers, American Disciples of Christ, and a number of independent missionaries, of whom the American Methodist Norton is the most active.

238. On the east of the North-West Provinces and on the north-east of the Central Provinces lies Bengal. It extends northward to the Himalaya, eastward as far as Assam, southward to the Brahmaputra and the Ganges delta, and to the Madras Presidency. It is the largest and most populous Province of India, having 75 million inhabitants, and makes up in itself alone a respectable empire. About the half of the population speak Bengali; of the other half the great majority speak Hindi; the remainder speak Uriya and various Kolarian

¹ To be distinguished from Chota Nagpur, the seat of the Gossner Mission in Bengal.

dialects. There are $45\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Hindus and $23\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Mohammedans; the rest are demon-worshippers. The non-Aryan element forms a considerable proportion of the population.

Pioneer work was done in Calcutta by isolated missionaries, —by Kiernander of Halle (1758) and some of the chaplains already referred to,—and then the "Serampore Trio," Carey, Marshman, and Ward, began evangelical missions in Bengal. The Baptists were followed by the C. M. S., the S. P. G., the L. M. S., the Scottish Established and Free Churches, the Gossner Mission, the Indian Home Mission (to the Santhals), and various other Baptist and Methodist societies. Altogether Bengal has at present about 140,000 evangelical Christians, of whom the main body belong to the Kols (78,000) and the Santhals (18,000).

We shall pass over the southern tributary States (Orissa), with the sanctuary of Jaganath, the "Lord of the World," at Puri; in these, two Baptist missions in particular, at Katak and Midnapur, are prosecuting a solid and not unsuccessful work (5000 Christians), which extends even into the territory of the wild Khonds, who offer human sacrifices. Let us turn at once to the much-blessed Gossner Kols Mission, the field of which lies mainly in Chota Nagpur. In 1850, five years after the beginning of the mission, a Christian movement began to spread from Ranchi, the present central station. It was mingled with national and social endeavours, and gained an ever-widening influence. Many mistakes were made by missionaries and the missionary directorate. A harmful division was brought into the country by the S. P. G. A Jesuit counter-mission was violently prosecuted, which was not very nice as to the means employed in conversion, but it has now to a considerable extent lost support.¹ The Hindu landowners were hostile, and the Sardars stirred up commotions by inciting both Christians and heathen against the missionaries, because they did not agree to their immoderate and imprudent demands. In spite of all these hindrances, however, the movement could not be suppressed, although it passed through critical times and once and again was checked. Perhaps the result would have been greater if the mission directorate had been able, by means of a larger number of missionaries, to deal

¹ Some years ago, in the high tide of this Jesuit mission, when within a few days 10,000 heathen were baptized without any preparation, it was boasted that there were more than 90,000 Catholic Kols; now the Catholic sources of information reduce this number to 33,155, of whom 27,719 are baptized and 5436 are catechumens. The Catholic organs are now silent about the mission to the Kols, whereas formerly they were never tired of citing it as their show-piece.

with the work more energetically. Besides Ranchi, with its beautiful large church and its seminary, the chief centres are Patrasburg and Govindpur or Gossnerpur, each of which has in its district over 10,000 Christians. A great disturbance was caused among the Mundari Kols in 1895 by a young apostate Christian who came forward as a pretended Messiah; but this, when he was unmasked, turned out to be a gain to the mission. Among the Urao Kols a Christian movement has at present taken hold of the populations of whole villages, and they are eager for baptismal instruction. In all the Gossner Mission numbers, inclusive of candidates, 63,000 Christian Kols. The English S. P. G., which has confined its work mainly to the Ranchi district, has now about 15,000 Kols Christians. After a period of very unpleasant rivalry, a tolerable *modus vivendi* between it and the Gossner Mission seems to have been attained.

239. Evangelical missions have also been conducted with success in Santhalistan, which lies to the north-east of Chota Nagpur, and which is likewise inhabited by Kolarian tribes. It was a terrible insurrection of these sorely oppressed tribes, which had in vain sought help against their oppressors, that attracted public attention to, them and occasioned the beginning of a mission among them in 1860. The lead was taken by the C. M. S., which had already initiated a mission in 1850 among a kindred Dravidian hill-people, the Pahari, who inhabit the Rajmahal mountains; this Pahari mission had its point of departure (under Missionary Dröse) in Bhagalpur, which is, however, situated in Bihar, but it only in small measure fulfilled the hopes which were built on it. Of the 6 Santhal stations of the C. M. S., with 4000 Christians, the most important are Taljhari and Barharva. Then the Indian Home Mission, founded by the two active Scandinavians, Börresen and Skrefsrud, followed in 1867; with its 11,000 Christians, already in a considerable degree educated to independent activity, it forms the real centre of the Santhal mission; its chief station is Ebenezer. In loose connection with it, a number of independent missionaries (Haegert) are at work at various stations (Bethel), and around these at least another 1000 Santhal Christians have been gathered. In addition, the Free Church of Scotland entered the field in 1871, and it likewise has more than 1300 Christians at 4 stations (Pachamba). Some other small missionary beginnings may be passed over.

Apart from these mountain districts, the chief mission centre is the capital of the Province with its outlying environs. Calcutta, situated on the Hoogli, the greatest western arm of

the Ganges, has a population of the most varied religious character. Among its million inhabitants (or thereby) there were said to be in 1890, according to the *Church Missionary Atlas* (p. 102), 11,000 native evangelical Christians. In any case, there is concentrated at Calcutta the missionary activity of many societies,—the Anglican societies, the L. M. S., the Baptist and Wesleyan Missions, the Scottish Established and United Free Churches, etc. These together have 25 congregations in the city and suburbs, and maintain a large number of educational institutions, among which the Scottish Colleges, and after them the Theological School of the C. M. S., are outstanding. The most of these societies show great zeal in preaching; they also endeavour specially to bring the Gospel near, in all kinds of ways, to the educated classes, and they carry on Zenana missions on a large scale.

From Calcutta the mission field extends on all sides, southward across the rice plain, with its numerous canals, as far as the Sunderbunds, eastward and northward to the Ganges, and westward nearly to Chota Nagpur. It is covered over with a large number of congregations—not, indeed, for the most part large ones—of the Anglican, Scottish, London, Baptist, and Wesleyan societies, which have together 30,000 evangelical Christians. The largest of these congregations are those of the English Baptists in Barisal and Madripur on the Ganges estuary, and in the Krishnagarh or Nadiya district of the C. M. S., to the north of Calcutta and about half-way between it and the Ganges. In this last-named district there were mass-conversions to Christianity half a century ago, but these were the source of more care than joy, owing to the caste wranglings and Jesuitical intrigues which followed. East of this district lies Bardwan, Weitbrecht's¹ station, once much talked of, but now unfortunately for some time in a retrograde condition.

Lastly, we must look at the East Himalaya mission of the Established Church of Scotland in the Sikkim region, which is as romantic as it is solid. It has two branches,—Darjeeling and Kalimpong,—and its work is chiefly among the hill-tribes of the Lepcha, Gurkha, and Bhutia. In conjunction with an independent Scottish Universities mission, it has gathered over 2500 Christians and as many scholars in its primary schools.²

240. The province of Assam forms the connection between Nearer and Further India. Its population contains Indian and

¹ *Memoir of the Rev. J. J. Weitbrecht*, by his Widow, London, 1873.

² Graham, *On the Threshold of Three Closed Lands (Tibet, Nepal, Bhotan)*, Edinburgh, 1897.

Indo-Chinese elements mingled together, and it is always becoming more mixed by continued immigration, especially of labourers (coolies) for the tea plantations. The Assamese proper have mostly become Hindus, but the wild hill-peoples (Garo, Naga, Khasi) belong to the demon-worshippers, who still to some extent offer human sacrifices. And yet it is just among these peoples that the Assam missions have gained their chief success. They are conducted mainly by the American Baptist Union, the S. P. G., and the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church. The American Baptists, who were first in the field, labour, indeed, also among the Assamese, their oldest station being Sibsagar, but their chief field embraces the Garo, with Tura as chief station, while amongst the Naga they have as yet achieved little success. Altogether they have gathered at 11 stations more than 4000 baptized adults. The S. P. G., apart from its converts among the Assamese (at Tezpur), has 4 stations among the Kachari (Attabari), with 2700 Christians in its care. Most important of all is the mission of the Welsh Methodists among the Khasi; at 16 stations, of which Shillong is the chief, there are 18,000 Christians.¹ If we add what these and some other societies do for the immigrant Kols and Santhals, of whom fully 7000 are Christians, we may estimate the total statistical result of evangelical missions in Assam to be at least 35,000 Christians.

241. Finally, with Burma, which lies beyond the eastern frontier of Assam, we reach the last Province of the great Indo-Britannic empire. It falls into the two principal districts of Upper and Lower Burma: the former, with its capital Mandalay, came under British dominion only in 1885; the latter, with its capital Rangoon, has been British since 1826. The Burmans, who constitute the main body of the population,

¹ In proof of there being among these Christians of the Khasia Mountains some to whom their Christianity is dear, there may be quoted the testimony which the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Charles Elliott, recently bore in reply to the prejudiced critics of missions: "I remember the very interesting case of a ruler of a small independent kingdom in the Khasia Mountains. The heir to this principality was converted in his youth through the instrumentality of the admirable missionaries from Wales, who have occupied the Khasia Mountains in Assam. His wife was also a Christian. When the old prince died, the people came to him and said: 'We will gladly have you, but we can on no account allow you to undertake the government as long as you are a Christian. There are sacrifices to be offered to all our gods, else they would without doubt send all sorts of plagues amongst us, kill our children, and destroy our harvests, if they were not appeased, and as a Christian you are not in a position to offer those sacrifices. Give up your Christianity, and we will receive you with open arms.' But he steadfastly refused to entertain their proposal. He remained faithful to Christianity, and surrendered the highest position and the highest rank to which a native in that region could attain."

are adherents of a Buddhism which is sunk in dead forms. They are mixed to a very great degree with Tamils, Telugu, Bengalese, and coolies from other parts of India, and even with Mohammedans. The various uncivilised tribes—mostly hill-tribes—especially the Karens, Shan, and Kachin, practise demon-worship.

Evangelical missions established themselves first in Lower Burma. Judson settled here in Rangoon, when expelled from Calcutta in 1813, and from this place he gave the impulse to the founding of the American Baptist Missionary Society (B. M. U., p. 107), which has now 38,500 members (at least 90,000 Christians) in Burma. When Judson was driven from Rangoon by the war, which caused him the keenest suffering, the mission was in 1827 transferred to Moulmein, and in the following year a station was established in Tavoy, which lies still farther south, and from it the successful Karen mission took its start. A kind of Messianic hope, based on old traditions, made ready a fruitful soil for the preaching of the Gospel here, and eminent missionaries—in addition to Judson, Boardman, Wade, Mason—as well as native preachers, who gave their testimony with great power—Kothabyu and Sa Quala—opened paths for it far and wide. The congregations have been so practically and energetically trained in the way of self-support,¹ that they now contribute £15,000 (\$72,000) yearly for the needs of church and school. The nation has also been considerably elevated industrially by means of industrial schools. There have, indeed, been many crises. Mrs. Mason caused much confusion by teaching odd heresies; and, becoming herself an Anglican, she drew the S. P. G. into the Baptist mission. The Catholics, too, undertook a counter-mission, which was carried on with much use of dishonourable means, and Buddhism made attempts at conquest. Besides the American Baptists, the S. P. G. in particular has made Burma a mission field. It took possession in 1859, at the instigation of the British Government chaplain in Moulmein, and began by establishing here, and at a later time at Rangoon, Christian schools, which were brought, under the capable Dr. Marks, into a vigorous condition. From this school work there was soon developed a mission which increased more and more in extent, especially after Rangoon became the seat of a bishop in 1877; this mission took in the Karens as well. Now over 7000 Christians belong to the Anglican Burma mission. A strict separation between the Burman and the Karen mission is difficult to maintain, since the Burman stations for the most part comprise larger or smaller Karen

¹ Carpenter, *Self-support illustrated in the History of the Bassein Karen Mission from 1840 to 1880*, Boston, 1883.



English Miles
100 200 300 400

congregations, and often both missions have the same centres. We must therefore content ourselves with giving the chief stations. Besides those already named, Tavoy, Moulmein, and Rangoon, where the Leipzig Mission has also a small Tamil congregation, there are Bassein, Henthada, Taungu, Schwegjin, and Prome.

242. In Upper Burma all mission work was forbidden till the Fifties. In 1868, Dr. Marks, who has been already mentioned, was, by the favour of the King of Burma, then still independent, allowed to establish a Christian school and church in Mandaleh, and he was even entrusted with the education of Theebaw, the heir to the throne. But favour passed into disfavour, when the missionary did not bring about the political advantages which the King had hoped for. And when Theebaw ascended the throne in 1878, he not only disappointed the hopes which had been formed of him, but he even carried on such a reign of terror that England waged war on him, and, after deposing him, annexed his kingdom. Since then missions have had 'free course in Upper Burma, but up till now the results attained by both Baptists and Anglicans, and by the Wesleyans, who entered later (1887) among the Burmans, as among the Shan and Kachin, have been but meagre. The most northerly of the stations there is Bhamo, which is the entrance gate to China.

On the Andaman and Nicobar groups of islands, lying off the west coast of Burma, beyond isolated missionary attempts, nothing has been done. For a time—from 1768 to 1787—the Moravians carried on a mission in the Nicobars which called for much sacrifice.

SECTION 2. NON-BRITISH FURTHER INDIA

243. In non-British Further India evangelical missions are to be found only in Siam and on the long Malay peninsula (Malacca). The remaining portion (Indo-China), which is almost entirely under French rule, is exclusively a Catholic mission field. In Siam, to which Laos now belongs, the population, estimated at from 10 to 12 millions, is again a very mixed one. It is made up of the Siamese proper (Thai), of the Laos, a kindred race,—both of these belonging to the Shan family and speaking a monosyllabic speech like the Chinese,—and, for the rest, mainly of Burmans, Chinese, and Malays. The chief religion is a purely ceremonial Buddhism, mixed with all sorts of fetich worship, and among the Laos a belief in spirits prevails. Gützlaff laboured here temporarily

among Chinese settlers, and some influential missionaries of the American Board (Dr. Bradley and Jesse Carswell) were also engaged in work for a time. But only the North American Presbyterians have since 1840 succeeded in establishing an enduring and to some extent important mission. In Siam itself the school-work of the mission is valued by the King, who, though in other respects a despot, is favourable to Western civilisation, and here there are about 1000 Christians at 3 chief stations, of which the central one is in Bangkok, the capital. The result in Laos is more considerable. Although the mission here is more recent, dating from 1867, there have been gathered, after a period of cruel persecution, perhaps fully 5000 Christians (2500 communicants) in connection with 5 stations, of which Chieng Mai is the chief. The greater success is to be explained by the fact that Buddhism, with its greater power of resistance, has not here to be dealt with. Much solid work is to be found in this mission; it devotes as much attention to itinerant evangelisation as to the schools and medical work, and there appears to be a hopeful prospect of extension.

In Malacca faithful work, especially school work, is done for the most part among Chinese, at various points in the island of Pulo-Penang and in the British Straits Settlements, the capital of which, Singapore, is the seat of an Anglican bishop. The workers are partly independent missionaries and partly representatives of the English Presbyterians, American Episcopal Methodists, and the S. P. G. The statistical result is meanwhile not considerable, there being about 1000 Christians.

SECTION 3. DUTCH INDIA

244. Not far to the south of the mainland of Further India, which runs out into the Malay Peninsula, lies the great group of the islands of Further India, forming the Malay Archipelago. These islands, so far as Protestant missions are concerned, are Dutch colonial possessions; while the Philippines, which, so long as they belonged to Spain, were closed to these missions, have now been opened to them.¹

This Dutch India, which forms the bridge between Asia and Oceania, is traditionally divided into the Larger Sunda Islands—Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes; the Lesser Sunda Islands—Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores, Sumba, Sawu, Timor, etc.; and

¹ [Already the Episcopal Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians of America have established themselves in Manila, the capital, with a view to the propagation of missions through the islands.—Ep.]

the Moluccas—Buru, Ambon, Ceram, Almaheira, Ternate, Sangi Islands, Talaut Islands, etc. These islands, so far as they are Dutch, are inhabited by a population belonging in quite a preponderating degree to the Malay race, and numbering over 32 millions. The great majority have been Moham-medanised, and this continued still under the rule of the Dutch, who were led by political illusion to show favour to Islam. Malay is the *lingua franca* of the archipelago and is the official language of the Government, but there are, besides, a host of other languages, which are to be distinguished rather as dialects of Malay.

Holland, like England, owes its Indian colonial empire to a privileged trading company, the East Indian Company, founded in 1602 (p. 43). Hailed at first as a liberator by the natives, who had been sorely oppressed by the Portuguese, it soon became itself an oppressor. In contrast with the British East India Company, the Dutch Company at once took up the Christianising of the natives, or rather, their Protestantising, into its colonial programme, less, it must be confessed, from religious than from political motives. The way in which it carried its plan into effect has already been described (p. 45).

But in spite of the mechanical missionary methods, the insufficient number and quality of the workers, the subsequent almost entire neglect of the mission congregations, and the reversal of colonial politics in relation to Christian missions, a remnant was left of the Christians of the older mission. They were, however, in such a degraded condition that hardly any difference could now be observed between them and the heathen. The first missionaries of the Dutch Missionary Society—especially Kam, Le Bruijn, Bär and Roskott—devoted themselves faithfully to these degenerate Christians. Then the ingenious Heldring, in particular, so stirred the conscience of his countrymen, that they directed more energy to their spiritual awakening. He himself sent out for this purpose quite a number of workers, some of whom were pupils of Gossner (Steller, Kelling, Schröder, Grohn). The Dutch Colonial Government, too, gradually became so interested in these old Christians, that it not only handed over the pastoral charge of the smaller part of them to its preachers, but also appointed special assistants as pastors for the larger part. Among the preachers there were many who did their calling little credit, and there are still such, but there have not been wanting men who have devoted themselves faithfully to the cause of the native Christians. It was mostly missionaries who were taken into the service of the Government as assist-

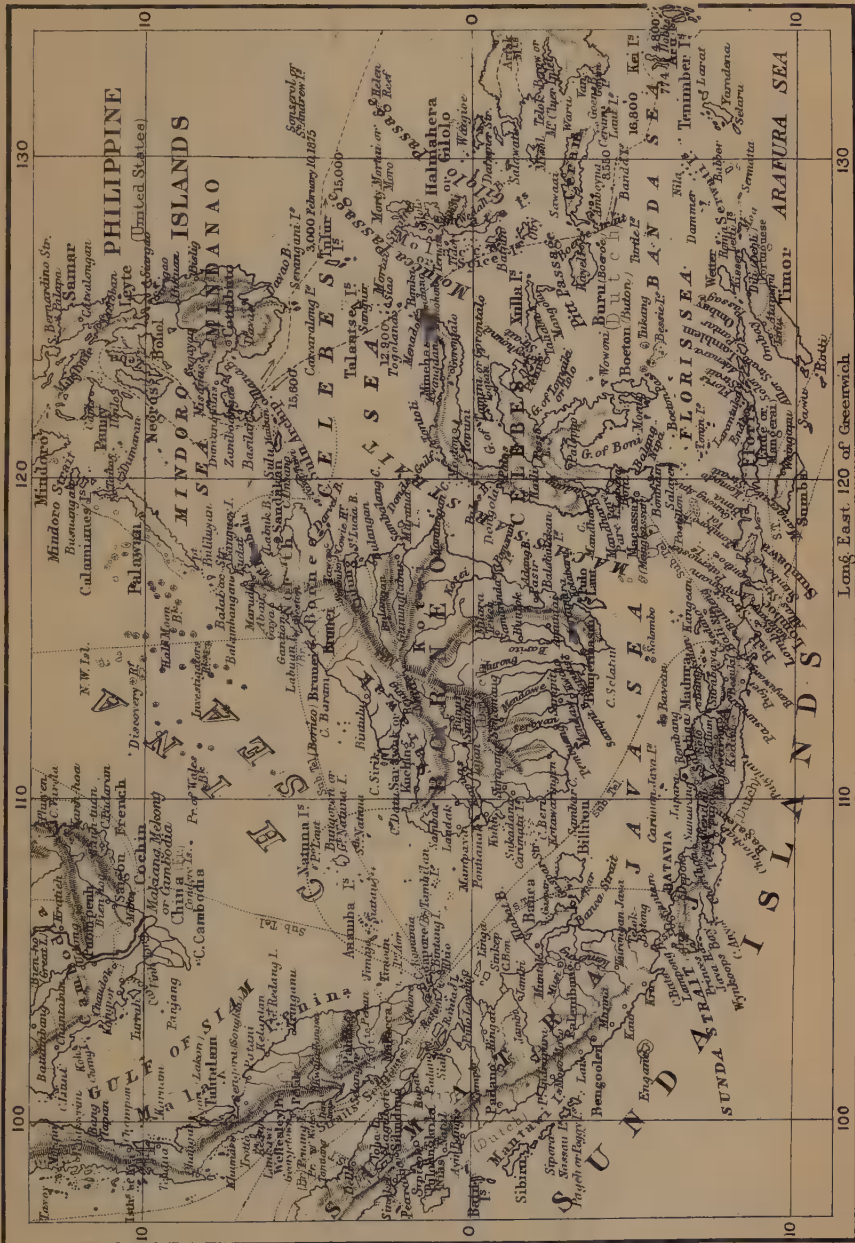
ant preachers,¹ and it was also older or more recent mission congregations that were given over to them and then taken into the number of the Gevestigte Gemeenten, which, along with the European congregations, make up the Protestant church in Dutch East India. And so the great majority of the descendants of the old Christians are now under the care of colonial pastors. How large their number may have been at the beginning of this century is hard to determine.² To-day they make up, as has been said, the main strength of the so-called Gevestigte Christengemeenten, and are to be found, besides, in Java, mainly in the south-western islands (Timor, Rotti, etc.), the Moluccas (Ambon, etc.), and in the Minahassa on the island of Celebes. In 1897 their number had increased to 240,160;³ while the number of souls in the mission congregations (inclusive of those in the Sangi and Talaut Islands) is about 133,000. The European congregations, with about 52,672 souls, and the inland congregations, are ministered to by 33 preachers, 25 assistant preachers, and a large number of assistant pastoral workers. The missionaries number 128, of whom 66 belong to the Rhenish Mission.

245. Modern mission work began in the Indian Archipelago in the second decade of the nineteenth century. The Netherlands Missionary Society was first in the field, and it was followed gradually by all the existing Dutch missionary societies, which have their fields of labour almost entirely in the Indian colonial empire of their own country. For a long time the Colonial Government made the work of the Netherlands missionaries disagreeable enough, and made it very difficult for missionaries who were not Dutch to begin work at all. Gradually, however, a change has been brought about. Not

¹ There is an exception in the case of the seven missionaries on the Sangi and Talaut Islands, who are maintained by the Colonial Government; it also supplies financial support to the mission schools and the medical mission. As regards the status of the preachers and the assistant preachers, the former not only receive a higher salary, but are in a manner the superintendents of the latter, preside at their district conferences, and are the medium of their official intercourse with the Colonial Church authorities. The preachers are pastors of the European congregations, and the spiritual care of the old inland congregations, which devolves only upon some of them, is committed to them as a kind of additional office. The assistant preachers have to do only with the pastorate of native congregations.

² Heldring estimated them, certainly too highly, at 200,000; Schreiber reduces this number to about 75,000 to 100,000.

³ In this number are included about 147,000 members of the Minahassa congregations, the great majority of whom are the fruit of modern missions in that place, and were incorporated into the Colonial State Church only twenty years ago. On the other hand, there are not included the Sangi Islands, with 43,500 Christians, of whom many are the descendants of the Christians of former days.



only are foreign societies allowed to settle, but more and more missions are treated with good-will, so that in this respect no ground for grievance now remains. Only, the number of assistant preachers is too small, and the Government school system, which, like the English system in British India, shuts out instruction in the Christian religion, causes the mission, especially in the Minahassa, much trouble. Besides 8 Dutch societies, some of them small, the Salvation Army, and all sorts of independent missionaries, there are two German societies, the Rhenish and the Neukirchen, in the Dutch Indies; while in North Borneo (Sarawak), which is included in British Further India, there is also the Anglican S. P. G. Next to the old Nederl. Z. G., which has won great success in the Minahassa, the Rhenish society among the Bataks in Sumatra has the most fruitful field. We shall traverse the archipelago as nearly as possible in geographical order.

246. Setting out from Malacca, we come first to the large island of Sumatra, in which the majority of the population are subject to Islam. Of the tribes in the interior which have continued heathen, we are concerned only with the Bataks, who have a speech and written character of their own. They inhabit the mountains from about Padang, in the middle of the west coast, to the other side of the Toba Lake, and as far as Deli on the east coast. They are given up to a crude belief in spirits, and have long been notorious for their cannibalism. The American Board made a futile attempt to establish a mission among them, which came to an end with the murder of its two missionaries, Munson and Lyman, in 1834. The Rhenish Missionary Society was directed to the Bataks at the beginning of the Sixties, after Pastor Witteveen of Ermelo had already sent them some missionaries, and a Dutch linguist, Van der Tuuk, had translated the Gospel of John into their language. The two first missionaries settled on the plateau of Sipirok, and then Nommensen, to whom the rôle of leader soon fell, pressed into the northern district of Silindung, which at that time had still an infamous reputation. There, with the support of courageous fellow-workers, after many struggles and dangers, in which his life repeatedly hung in the balance, in a comparatively short time he led Christianity to victory. Silindung is now completely Christianised. The chief stations are Pearadja with 7400 Christians, Sipoholon with 3700, Hutabarat and Simorangkir with 3600, Pangaloan with 3500, and Pansur-na-pitu with 2500; and with its seminary for teachers and preachers, which is attended by 60 pupils. South of Silindung, as far as the district of Angkola-Sipirok, Christianity also gained

more and more ground, and gathered station congregations of more than 2000 Christians. Here the mission is engaged in a conflict—to a large extent a victorious conflict—with Islam, and is now pressing onwards into the Mohammedan Padang Bolak. The advance of the mission northwards from Silindung, however, has been on a much larger scale, and also much more successful; it has entered Toba, which twenty years ago was quite inaccessible, and reached the Toba Lake. This beautiful lake is surrounded by a whole circle of stations, and south of it, on the so-called Steppe, Christianity continues its advance. Many of these stations were indeed exposed to great danger, especially from the heathen priest-king Singamangaraja, the over-chief of the free Bata tribes; but in spite of this some stations have reached a high state of development,—Balige and Laguboti, for example, which have congregations of 2800 Christians. In 1899 the total number of baptized Bata Christians amounted to 44,000, and of catechumens to almost 6000; and the number would have been still greater but for the great caution always observed in the dispensation of baptism. The old heathenism is becoming always weaker, and a Christian native church is steadily growing up. The congregations are well organised, and provide out of their own resources for the erection of churches and schools, and also to some extent for the support of the native pastors, of whom there are 22 ordained, and of the native teachers, who number 232. The congregations are presided over by elders, who are energetic helpers of the (35 European) missionaries. The Bata translation of the Bible is at present in course of revision, and a native literature is being diligently prepared. A medical missionary and 11 sisters are also at work. The Christianising process has been accompanied by a progressive civilisation. In particular, peace has been brought about among the warlike people, an advance which must in part be credited to the Dutch Colonial Government.

There are in Sumatra, besides the Rhenish missionaries, also the Nederl. Z. G. on the east coast at Deli, the Doopgez. Z. V., and the Java Committee (in Angkola); but these together have only 1000 Christians.

247. Since 1865 the Rhenish Mission has also been at work on the neighbouring smaller island of Nias, which lies opposite the port of Siboga and has about a quarter of a million of heathen inhabitants, allied in race to the Bataks. The work here was longer in attaining success. Only after ten years were there a few baptisms at the three stations situated about the middle of the east coast, but here also, in the course of the last decade, a harvest has been ripening. The 3 original

stations have increased to 11; 4 of these reach across the interior of the island to the west coast, and the number of Christians has grown to 4300, with 2000 catechumens. The mission, however, has not yet succeeded in establishing a station in the south. Missionary Sundermann has produced valuable linguistic works, and has translated the New Testament into the Nias language.

On the Batu Islands, south of Nias, the Netherlands Lutheran Missionary Society conducts a small mission, which is still in the early stages of growth: there are 2 missionaries and 2 stations.

248. The beautiful island of Java, Holland's treasure-house, has hitherto not been a very fruitful field for Christian missions. Some 20,000 native evangelical Christians, of whom, too, not a few are Chinese, are a meagre result out of a population of almost 23 millions, for three centuries under the dominion of a Christian power. The blame does not lie entirely with the perverted colonial policy, which, by showing favour to Mohammedanism, has directly fostered its growth, but just as much with the mission itself, for it has treated this important field in a very step-motherly fashion, and has been greatly lacking in missionary aggressiveness. Instead of working directly among the inland population, the roundabout method was attempted of forming and caring for European and half-European congregations, and through these acting on the natives,—a mistaken method, which has not even yet been entirely departed from. Six Dutch missionary societies and one German, the Neukirchen Society, are at work on the island. The Bible has been translated into the language of Java by Gericke and Jansz, and into the Sudanese language by Grashuis and Coolsma.

The unimportant inland congregations in Batavia, the capital, and the neighbouring Depok, are in the main of older date. In Depok there is a large seminary for native helpers for the whole archipelago. In addition, the Nederl. Zend. Ver. has a number of stations in western Java, with about 1500 Christians. The door has been more widely opened to the mission of the Reformed Churches in central Java, especially in and around the Residency of Bagalen. Yet, owing to the scarcity of European missionaries, the Christians to be found here, who number about 4000, are still very deficient in religious knowledge; and the influential native assistant missionary Sadrach, who was dismissed on account of heresy and doubtful purity, has gathered about him 3500 adherents, thereby occasioning great confusion among the Christians, which is the more dangerous since the Roman mission is taking advantage

of it to fish in turbid waters. This counter-mission also greatly harasses the Salatiga mission, which extends throughout eastern central Java (the Samarang and Rembang Residencies). The Salatiga mission was taken over from Ermelo by the Neukirchen Society, and has at present 1000 Christians under its care. Of the remaining stations of this field, the most noteworthy are the station of the Nederl. Z. S. at Samarang, and Margoreja and Kedung, which belong to the Baptists. There is at present only a small congregation at Surabaya, in east Java, from which a religious awakening began to go forth in the second decade of the nineteenth century, through the agency of missionary Kam and of Emde, a pious watchmaker, but in a large part of the south-east of the island this awakening has left abiding effects. A compact body of the native Christians of Java, numbering about 8000, is gathered around Kediri, Kendalpajak, and above all around Mojowarno, the most flourishing station in the whole island, with its 4200 Christians, the foundation of which was firmly laid by the richly graced missionary Jellesma (1851-59). There are also in Java, in addition to the Salvation Army, several independent missionaries, but their work has had little success.

249. To the north of Java lies Borneo, the largest island of the archipelago, which, however, has a population of only a million and three quarters of Dayaks and immigrant Malays, as well as Chinese. In 1835 the Rhenish Mission began work in the south-eastern portion of the island, and, pressing on into the interior by a number of the water-ways which are so numerous there, it gradually established 8 stations. Experiments were tried with all sorts of missionary methods for carrying the Gospel to the wild, inaccessible Dayaks. When at last the seed sown in hope seemed to be sprouting, there broke out in 1859 a bloody rebellion of the Mohammedan Malays against the Dutch rule; in this the Dayaks became involved, and all the inland stations were destroyed and 7 of the mission staff were murdered. It was 1866 before the work in the interior could be taken up again, but from that time onwards it has again extended among various tribes, beginning at the station of Kwala Kapuas, which was founded by Zimmer, and it is now carried on at 9 stations. At these, however, there have been gathered up to the present only 1900 Christians, among whom there are some immigrant Chinese.

The S. P. G. has a not unfruitful field of labour among both the land and the sea Dayaks, in the British Protectorate of Sarawak, in the west of the island, to which it was invited by Brooke, the founder, and also in British North Borneo. This field has been erected into the bishopric of Labuan, which

includes Singapore. In these two fields the society has gathered about 4500 Christians at 12 stations, and under the influence of Christianity the roughness of their manners has been largely mitigated.

250. Another fruitful evangelical mission field is to be found in the neighbouring island of Celebes, among the heathen Alifurs who inhabit the Minahassa, the north-eastern tongue of the island. The rest of the population of the island is in great part Mohammedan. When Hellendoorn, the missionary of the Netherlands Missionary Society, began modern missions here in 1826, he found some neglected remnants of Christianity still remaining from old time. The work, however, soon passed into a heathen mission proper, which led, through the energetic work of Riedel and Schwartz in particular, to the formation of a native church, which includes to-day about 147,000 Christian Alifurs. The chief stations are Menado, Tondano, Langowan, Ajermadidi, Sonder, Tomohon, Ratahan. Even eye-witnesses who are indifferent to missions are full of praise for the outward transformation consequent on Christianisation; and yet by the pressure of the colonial system of civilisation the social advance is much hindered. Criminal cases hardly ever occur, and the security of life and property is greater than with us at home; although there are, of course, some moral shadows. From want of means the Netherlands Missionary Society had to give up this field, the most fruitful in the whole Indian Archipelago, to the Colonial State Church, which took the missionaries into its service as assistant preachers, and is now obliged to provide pastors for the people. The Netherlands M. S. now supports only a few missionaries, and a large part of the old mission schools, with a seminary for teachers at Tomohon; it is questionable, however, if its resources will permit it to continue the competition with the Government schools, in which, unfortunately, religion has no place.

The adjacent Sangi and Talaut Islands are also a productive mission field. Principally Gossner missionaries (Steller, Kelling, Tauffman), sent out at the instance of Heldring, and a few Dutch missionaries, all of whom had a great struggle to get the means of sustenance, took the Christian remnant from old times here under their watchful care, and gradually a body of Christians numbering almost 44,000 has been brought together, whose moral life, it must be said, still shows considerable defects. At present this mission is managed by a special committee, which is connected with a society in Batavia.

251. In the Molucca group, particularly in the southern

portion (Ceram, Ambon), Kam and Roskott, missionaries of the Netherlands M. S., laboured with great success, but the society withdrew from this field in 1865. Now most of the congregations, embracing 44,500 Christians, belong to the Netherlands State Church as "Gevestigde." Buru, the neighbouring island, and Almaheira, a northern island of the same group, are occupied as a mission field (1700 Christians) of the Utrecht Missionary Union.

Finally we come to the Lesser Sunda or South-Western Islands, in which there are again numerous "Gevestigde Gemeenten" in the Aru, Letti, Kisser, Timor, and Rotti Islands. The Christians in these, however, numbering about 46,000, seem to lack sufficient oversight and to be on a rather low level of moral and religious life. Missions proper are carried on only in Sawu, by the Netherlands Missionary Society, and in Sumba, by the Reformed Church. The number of Christians (4600), in so far as it depends on the willingness of the people, would be much greater, if the missionary provision were not so scanty, a complaint which unfortunately may justly be made with respect to almost the whole of the archipelago, with the exception of the Rhenish and Neukirchen fields. If we calculate the missionary result within the mission congregations in round numbers as 133,000, the total number of native Christians in the Dutch Indies, inclusive of those in the Gevestigde Gemeenten, will at present reach 373,600.

SECTION 4. CHINA AND COREA

252. Instead of at once keeping on our way farther eastward into the South Seas, where in western New Guinea we still touch the colonial domain of Holland, we must return to the Asiatic continent, and then, traversing Further India, we come to China.¹

It is, to be sure, an unhistorical assumption that the Chinese Empire has existed since about 3000 B.C.; but even though it was not till 220 B.C. that it became a single united State, it still remains the oldest of all the great empires of the world. During its long history, indeed, the dynasties have changed repeatedly, and internal wars have not been wanting; but through all political crises the existence of the empire has been preserved. The eighteen provinces of China proper, which are endowed with a large measure of self-government,

¹ Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, 2 vols., 5th ed., New York, 1883. Medhurst, *China: its State and Prospects*, London, 1857; *The Foreigner in Far Cathay*, London, 1872. Smith, *Chinese Characteristics*, New York, 1894. "The Missionary Movement in China," in *Chinese Recorder*, 1897, 569; 1898, 161.

comprise only a third of the land surface. The other two-thirds are made up by the annexes of Tartary, Mongolia, Manchuria, etc., but these contain only a small fraction—about 10 millions—of the population.¹ There is no official census, and so the statistics of population depend on estimates, which vary from 300 to 400 millions, and even more. Only the lower river-lands are over-populated, and in the interior large territories lie comparatively desert. China has an ancient civilisation; the people, who are as diligent and contented as they are subtle and avaricious, do excellent work in agriculture and industries, and when once they appropriate the products of Western civilisation, and particularly when they introduce the modern methods of communication, they will threaten Europe and America with the most dangerous competition. The highest respect is paid to the flourishing class of the learned, who really carry on the government, a government, indeed, which in every one of its branches—administration, judicature, army, etc.—is rotten through and through. The officials are dishonest; they oppress and rob the people; they are open to corruption, stir up hatred to foreigners, and hinder all healthy progress. The only access to public offices is by the very severe examinations, and the highest offices are attainable only by those who, after repeated tests, have gained the highest degree. The education of the learned, however, consists in fixing in the memory the contents of the old classical writings, and in the acquisition of the classical style,—a formalism which, combined with a conservatism that idolatrously worships whatever is old, is the death of all intellectual progress. And like its learning is the boasted politeness of China: it consists of a conglomeration of ceremonial abounding in phrases, the non-observance of which is regarded not only as marking a want of culture, but almost as a sin. China is the land of falsehood, which has been developed in both private and public life into a formal system of deception. A characteristic of China is the large number of towns (17,000), of which a considerable percentage have hundreds of thousands, and even over a million, of inhabitants.

253. The language consists of a limited number—said to be only 400—of purely monosyllabic base-words, which are multiplied by combination, and by means of various intonation—there are as many as eight tones—receive a very manifold

¹ Williamson, *Journeys in Northern China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia*, 2 vols., London, 1870. [This estimate of the population may have been correct several years ago, but there has been an immense immigration from Southern China into Manchuria, and the population of this province alone has been generally estimated recently as 18 millions.—*Ed.*]

sense. This copious shading of tones makes the learning of the Chinese language difficult in the highest degree. To say that the whole empire speaks only one language is a fable; the differences in language are so great, not only in the different provinces, but often within the same province, that they render mutual intelligibility impossible. The Mandarin is the most widely spread. China possesses, however, a single system of writing, which is to be explained by the fact that this system consists not of sound-signs but of word-signs. This unity of writing has the advantage, indeed, that, like the Arabic numerals, it removes for the eye the difference of speech; but it has this disadvantage, that the characters used are so numerous as to make reading exceedingly difficult, and so complicated as to form a chief hindrance to intellectual progress.¹ For long, therefore, it has been doubted whether Latin letters should not be introduced instead of the Chinese characters for missionary literary work, and especially for the translation of the Bible. Up to the present, however, this commendable innovation has been applied only to works in various popular dialects.

254. There are in China three religions,—the moral system of Confucianism, the originally mystical Taoism, which has now degenerated into superstitious witchcraft, and the ceremonial Buddhism, introduced in the first century after Christ. These are, however, so intermingled that it is quite impossible to give even approximate statistics of the number of their adherents.² No one knows where one religion stops and another begins, for individual people adopt as much of each religion as suits them. The Chinese are practical religious eclectics. All of them reverence Confucius, regulate their life—to a certain extent—according to his precepts, and are devoted to ancestor-worship; all have recourse, especially in sickness and need, to the magical arts and superstitious hocus-pocus of the Taoists; and almost all commend their souls at death to the Buddhist priest, have masses read for the soul, and make use of the Buddhist burial ceremonial. The polite man says to the man of a different belief, and the enlightened man who no longer believes anything repeats it: "The three doctrines come to the same thing in the end." Indeed, here

¹ Kang-hi's great lexicon contains 44,449 characters, of which, however, only 10,000 to 15,000 occur in current literature. In the nine canonical books of classical literature there are only 4601 characters. It is manifest that this character-writing, even if the number of characters only amounted to 4000, is adverse to the understanding of the sense, especially when new ideas create new words for which no sign has been provided.

² Smith, as quoted, chap. xxvi. "Buddhism and Taoism in their Popular Aspects," in the *Records of the Central Conference at Shanghai*, 1877, p. 62.

and there temples of the three doctrines have been erected, in which Laotse, the father of the Tao doctrine, and Buddha are enthroned on the right side, and Confucius on the left. These three religions exist, not side by side, but rather intermingled, on quite friendly terms, although there have been times in the past when they waged bitter war with each other. To speak of all the Chinese as Buddhists is a scientific error which ought to be put away once for all. At bottom they are much rather Confucianists, in spite of the Buddhist tinsel with which they deck themselves,—a tinsel, moreover, that is quite foreign to the original character of Buddhism. Confucianism is the State religion; the Emperor, as the Son of Heaven, is its *pontifex maximus*; the official class constitutes its priesthood, so to say; at any rate, religion and politics or State administration are closely bound up together. But the religion which really dominates China is the worship of ancestors, which is connected with “filial piety,” with the conception of the state after death, and with the so-called “wind and water doctrine.” This worship, along with self-righteousness, a worldly spirit, and the hatred felt towards foreigners, is the chief hindrance to the extension of Christianity. There are also in China a considerable number of Mohammedans,—nearly 30 millions, it is said; the bulk of these are to be found in the western provinces, especially in Yunnan.

255. Little is known of the oldest Christian missions, that of the Nestorians in the seventh century, and that of John Corvino in the thirteenth and fourteenth, and hardly any traces of these remain. From the sixteenth century onward, however, the Jesuits, who were represented by a series of distinguished men,—Ricci, Schall, Verbiest,—achieved great outward success. They owed this, however, not to the victorious might of evangelical truth, but to the scientific services—mathematical, astronomical, and technical¹—by which they made themselves indispensable to the Manchu emperors, and to their accommodation of Christianity, going even so far as to heathenise it, to the veneration of Confucius and to ancestor-worship; and they appealed against the Pope’s condemnation of these to the heathen emperor. Under this emperor, Kanghi (1662–1723), Catholicism was near to becoming, not indeed *the* recognised religion, but one of the recognised religions, of China. Then the tide turned, especially under Kanghi’s successor. The papal decisions were regarded as political encroachments on imperial authority; opposition passed into persecution, in which much martyr-blood was shed, while there was also a great apostasy of Christians. And when,

¹ They even instituted the founding of cannons for the emperors.

in addition, the order of Jesuits was afterwards abolished, the mission went back very much. Only in the nineteenth century has it made a new and more decided forward movement, chiefly through its connection with French politics. This alliance, which is at present characteristic of Catholic missions in general, has in hardly any other place occasioned so many conflicts as in China, and it has contributed not a little to making Christianity hated, a fate which overhangs Chinese missions to the present day. The Catholic mission, too, is constantly interfering with the Chinese administration of justice, either directly claiming jurisdiction over its adherents, or bringing pressure to bear to their advantage on the Chinese officials through the French consuls. This judicial intervention calls forth, on the one hand, a great accession of litigious subjects, and, on the other hand, great enmity on the part of the Chinese officials, from which evangelical missions have also much to suffer. According to the *Missiones Catholicae* for 1898, the total number of baptized Chinese Catholics is at present 616,500, and of the European missionaries 759.¹

256. China was closed to evangelical missions till almost the middle of the nineteenth century, in consequence of a policy which excluded foreigners from the country. The London missionaries Morrison² and Milne, indeed, who were sent out in 1807 and 1813, stayed in Macao and Malacca, and also secretly in Canton, and did valuable work in connection with the language, translating the whole Bible into Chinese; they did not, however, accomplish any aggressive mission work. And at first no greater success was attained either by Bridgman, a missionary of the American Board who settled in Canton in 1830, or by the enthusiastic Gützlaff, a disciple of Jänicke, who, after leaving the Netherlands M. S., was from 1831 untiring in his independent missionary work, carried on by word and writing, while he was engaged as interpreter in various ships and as secretary to the Embassy.

It is true that some first-fruits of China were baptized by these pioneers, and probably there were before 1842 more than the traditional six baptisms. But this preliminary work cannot be called an organised mission. The mission era proper only began after the treaty of Nankin in 1842, which put an

¹ The figures in *Miss. Cath.* when added up only amount to 532,448. It is, as Father Huonder says, "one of their numerous slips," that for Kingnan 10,070 is inserted instead of 104,070 Catholics. The *Kath. Missionen* for October 1900 (p. 15) reckons the number of European missionaries at 942, and of Chinese Catholics at 762,758, an improbable increase in two years.

² As Morrison embarked for China he was mockingly asked: "And you would convert the Chinese?" He answered: "No, not I; but I expect that God will."

end to the infamous Opium War and compelled China to open 5 ports—Shanghai, Ningpo, Foochow, Amoy, and Canton—to commerce, and to cede Hongkong to England.

257. The Opium War, which of course had also other causes than the enforced introduction of opium, is still, like the opium trade, a blot on the British flag. The fact that China was opened up as the result of an act of injustice, which compelled the Chinese Government, in spite of their protest, to legalise the importation of opium, cast from the beginning a dark shadow on Christian missions, which made use of this opening to get a footing in the country. We have here one of the most striking examples of the manner in which commercial and colonial politics are at one and the same time a pioneer and a hindrance to missions. Till this day missions in China stand, as it were, under a ban, because they are always connected with the unjustly enforced introduction of opium, which is used with a certain show of right to justify attacks upon them. England's selfishness has indeed been punished, for now that filthy and pernicious trade has gone back so much that the cultivation of opium in India has ceased to be profitable. Unfortunately, however, China, having become accustomed to the vice, is now growing opium for itself to an ever-increasing extent. The first Opium War was followed by a second in 1856, in which France also joined, ostensibly for the protection of the Catholic missionaries. This was brought to a close by the treaty of Tientsin in 1858, which enforced the opening of 9 more ports and the granting of religious freedom to both Catholic and evangelical Christians. A third war followed immediately, which ended in 1860 in the capture of Peking and the barbarous destruction of the Imperial Summer Palace. Gradually the number of open ports was increased to 24. And so by force the country was opened to foreigners, but the heart of the people was so much the more firmly closed against them; and it is easy to understand how it is that the hatred of foreigners constitutes a main feature in the intercourse of the Chinese with the Christian West. Unfortunately, it is missions that have most to suffer from this hatred of foreigners, which is stirred up by the officials, the learned class, and secret societies,—as is evidenced, *e.g.*, by the massacres at Tientsin in 1870, in the Yangtse-kiang Valley at the end of the Eighties, and at Kucheng in 1895. It is the missionaries who are most widely scattered throughout the land, and most exposed both to calumnies and to popular attacks. Not unnaturally, too, this hatred grows in proportion to the violence of the punitive measures which follow these murders, and the more these are

taken advantage of for the attainment of selfish political ends. This has been proved in a startling manner by the awful events of the year 1900. Warships are fatal agents for commending the religion of the Cross, whether they be French or English or German.

258. Thus many things in China combine to make the work of missions difficult,—language,¹ ancestor-worship, conservatism, a materialistic tendency of mind, self-righteousness, national pride, and hatred of foreigners. But moderate results, therefore, can be expected after not much more than 50 years' labour, during which the number of workers and of their fields of work increased only very gradually. Once it seemed, indeed, as if a wide door were about to be opened to evangelical missions as by storm, when in 1850 the great Taiping Rebellion broke out, which continued till the middle of the Sixties, and would probably have overthrown the Manchu dynasty, had not English and American officers—above all, C. G. Gordon—been in command of the imperial troops. At the head of this rebellion was Hung Siu-tseuen, a visionary influenced by Christian ideas, who, in common with the members of a like-minded "Society of Worshippers of God," began a reforming movement in religion, which, as it acquired a political character, soon extended victoriously over the whole empire. But the hopes fixed on this movement at the beginning by sanguine friends of missions were not fulfilled. The fantastic doctrines of the guiding prophet, who professed to be a younger brother of Jesus, became more and more eccentric, and the fanatical warfare degenerated into the most barbarous cruelties. The course of the movement is a serious warning to missions of all places and times to guard against alliance with all forms of fanaticism which mingle together Christianity and heathenism or religion and politics.

259. The opening of the country and the religious liberty which had been extorted from the Chinese were taken advantage of by English, American, German, and at a later date also Scandinavian missionary societies, in order to set foot, first of all, on the southern and south-eastern coast. The Chinese had no faith in the unselfish benevolence of the missionaries, and so there was need of unspeakable patience to enable them to comprehend what is meant by, "We seek not yours, but you." Even the whole period up to 1860—

¹ Not only is the Chinese language in itself not easy to learn, but it presents great difficulties for the translation of Christian ideas, such as sin, holiness, repentance, faith, atonement, reconciliation, justification, regeneration, and even "spirit" and "God." The "Christianising of etymology" required much time everywhere, and especially in China, and until it was accomplished, an intelligible and effective preaching was not to be thought of.

during which, apart from Hongkong, it was, in the main, only the well-known Treaty Ports, with their immediate surroundings, that could be occupied—was a time of sowing in hope: in 1860 there were some 1200 adult evangelical Christians. Only in the period from 1860 to 1900, in which year the third period of evangelical missions ended with a catastrophe more bloody than any that had gone before, were all the 18 provinces of the great empire gradually drawn into the domain of evangelical missionary activity by the agency of a steadily increasing missionary corps. At the end of the nineteenth century there were in the service of some 40 evangelical missionary societies, 1100 missionaries, of whom, however, only about the half were ordained, 124 men and about 59 women physicians, and 713 unmarried women missionaries.¹ Particularly characteristic of the Chinese mission is the disproportionately large number of women workers—713, in addition to 750 wives of missionaries. The introduction of women in such large numbers into mission service, even as itinerant evangelists, is due mainly to the growing influence of the China Inland Mission, which was originated by Hudson Taylor in 1865. This mission generally is of epoch-making significance in the missionary history of China, not merely because of its principles of evangelisation, but because it moved its field of work from the coast into the interior, and set before it as its aim to bring the Gospel to all the provinces unoccupied, or but slightly occupied, by other societies. Up to the present this aim has been so far attained, that the numerous men and women² representatives of the mission are at work in 15 provinces of the empire, mainly as itinerant preachers. Other societies, however, have also pressed into the interior of China, although these are engaged for the most part in the coast provinces up to the Gulf of Pe-chi-li.

From the beginning much attention has been devoted to the enlisting of native helpers. This has, indeed, not been so rapid as was dreamed by the sanguine Gützlaff, whose bands of Chinese evangelists furnished such painful disillusionment to the Basel and Barmen missionaries sent out at his instiga-

¹ *China Mission Handbook*, Shanghai, 1896, which gives for the first time a bird's-eye view, as comprehensive as it is trustworthy, of evangelical mission work in China, arranged according to societies. The introductory religious-historical part is also of value. See also Beach's *Dawn on the Hills of T'ang*; or, *China as a Mission Field*, New York, 1898.

² In 1899, 811, including wives of missionaries. In the statistics no distinction is made between ordained and unordained missionaries, between men and women, or between single and married women. According to Beach, the staff in 1897 consisted of 30 ordained, 296 lay missionaries, 297 unmarried women, and 176 married women.

tion. China must indeed be converted by the Chinese, but of course only by those who have been converted first themselves. In 1893 there were already 252 ordained Chinese pastors, and almost 3000 native evangelists, teachers, colporteurs, etc. Among these there were a goodly number of proved men, but hardly any yet of definite historical importance. In 1898 there were, in round numbers, 5000 native helpers of both sexes.

260. As regards the statistical results of evangelical missions in China, the number of communicants at the end of 1898 was, in round numbers, 100,000; so that the gross total of all the evangelical Christians in China may be assumed to be at least 215,000.¹ These numbers were divided among 526 chief stations and 2300 out-stations. There were 2000 mission schools in existence, but the whole number of scholars was only 37,600. The main increase has taken place in the course of the last decade. The traditional assertion that Chinese missions have been unfruitful is an error. Of evangelical church members eligible for communion, there were in 1853, 351; in 1863, 1974; in 1873, 9715; in 1883, 21,560; in 1893, 55,093; and in 1898, 99,281. There is thus progress. The great majority of the Christians, it is true, belong to the country population and to the classes without a literary education: they are widely scattered, and are divided variously among the different provinces. The following table shows the number of communicants in each province in 1898:—

Fo-kien (including Formosa)	28,700	Shen-si	600
Kwang-tung	15,000 ²	Ho-nan	500
Shan-tung	12,500	Ngan-whi	500
Che-kiang	9,250	Kan-su	400
Chi-li or Pe-chi-li	8,000	Hoo-nan	80
Hoo-pe	4,650	Kwai-chow	80
Kiang-su	4,570	Yun-nan	15
Shan-se	1,850	Kwang-si	(?)
Kiang-si	1,550	Manchuria, province of	
Se-chuen	1,100	Shing-king	9,900

Of the various missionary societies, the following had, in

¹ In the year 1895 there were in the province of Fo-kien, 18,767 communicants and 54,916 Christians. In 1899, in the same province, the C. M. S. alone reckoned 4155 communicants and 8949 baptized persons (exclusive of 11,812 catechumens). Often, it is true, the proportion is only that of 2 to 3. On the whole, the number of communicants may at least be doubled in order to get at the number of Christians.

² *The Chinese Recorder*, 1900, p. 536, gave the number as 18,430. And in other provinces the numbers had increased, though not perhaps in the same degree, up to the catastrophe in 1900.

1899 or 1898, as the case may be, the largest number of communicants:—

American Episcopal Methodists	12,200
American Presbyterians	9,750
United Presbyterians (now United Free Church of Scotland)	8,500
English Presbyterians	6,300
London Missionary Society	9,100
China Inland Mission	8,500
American Board	6,000
Church Missionary Society	5,850
English Baptists	4,600
Basel Missionary Society	4,100

Of the quality of the Chinese Christians, too, one hears much that is good: many of them have been tried by fire, and they display a living missionary zeal. There may be not a little chaff among the wheat, but, on the whole, the Chinese Christians are better than they are said to be.

Besides the proclamation of the Word, particularly in the form of itinerant preaching, school instruction, and extensive literary work, in which, besides Medhurst, Legge, Giles, Edkins, Williams, Smith, Griffith John and others, Dr. Faber, recently dead, took an outstanding part, medical missions play an important rôle in China (Parker, Lockhart, Hobson, Kerr). In 1898 there were 185 medical missionaries (126 men and 59 women), over 70 hospitals and 110 dispensaries, a great equipment, which renders much pioneer service to missions, but is also repeatedly used as the basis of the most senseless complaints against the missionaries, as for example that they kill children and use their organs to make medicine. The Bible has been repeatedly translated and revised in Chinese; unfortunately, however, the united translation agreed to by the last Shanghai Conference in 1890 does not bring to a decision the long dispute as to the Chinese name for God.

261. A new epoch in Chinese missions, as well as in Chinese history—and (who knows?) perhaps in the history of the world as well—is marked by the year of terror, 1900. The so-called Boxer Outbreak, which was perhaps not exactly stirred up by the Chinese Government, but, as is shown by documentary evidence, was patronised by it, was characterised by an outbreak of hatred to foreigners which, after the murder of the German ambassador, threatened¹ the whole population of the embassies with death, in a severe siege of several months' duration, and cost the lives of 134 missionaries²—including

¹ Martin, *The Siege in Peking: China against the World*, New York, 1900.

² The most penetrating glimpse of this fearful slaughter, which has nothing to compare with it in the history of modern missions, is given by Broomhall,

wives of missionaries and unmarried lady missionaries—and 52 children of missionaries, in addition to other Europeans. This bloody rising against the foreigners led to a coalition of all the Great Powers against China, which, however, owing to their mutual jealousies, and in face of the cunning Chinese diplomacy, unfortunately makes little impression, not to speak at all of the misdeeds of the soldiers, which are a discredit to the boasted Christian civilisation. As formerly in the case of the Indian Mutiny, an attempt was made to put the responsibility for the troubles in China also on to Christian missions, and almost throughout the whole world, as if at the word of command, a campaign was organised against them in the press, which not only made the most senseless charges against them, but even rose to the expression of malicious joy: "One would almost be glad if the missionaries were put to death by the Chinese." Now, indeed, this fit of frenzy has pretty well passed away, and public opinion has gradually sobered down to this conviction, that the chief causes of the awful catastrophe—not to speak of all the other provocations given by foreigners to the Chinese—lay partly in the Chinese policy of Europe, and partly in the Chinese reactionary movement against the reform policy of the young Emperor Kwang Su, and that the latest occupations of territory, alike in North and South China, by the Germans, Russians, British, and French, the projects for the partition of China by the Western Powers, which rose to the wildest rumours, and the railway and mining undertakings, which stirred up the superstitious population, in combination with all kinds of social and industrial distress in the Middle Kingdom, gave the last impulse for the outbreak of the revolt. So far as missions incur reproach, this falls mainly on the Catholic missions, which—as was formerly proved—because of

Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission, with a Record of the Perils and Sufferings of some who Escaped, London, 1901. Of the 134 adult members of the missionary corps who were murdered, 58 belonged to the China Inland Mission alone, 26 to the Alliance Mission, 13 to each of the American Board and the English Baptists, and 5 to the American Presbyterians. The greatest bloodshed took place in the provinces of Shan-se, Chi-li, Che-kiang, and Honan: in Shan-se, it was the governor himself, Yu-Hsien, notorious for his fanatical enmity to foreigners and Christians, who brought about the murders. Ostensibly to protect them, or to send them to the coast under his protection, this man of blood invited all the foreigners in the neighbourhood of his residence at Tai-yuen-fu, into his Yamen, and then caused them to be murdered; of the number were 33 members of the Evangelical, and 10 members of the Catholic, missionary staff, and 40 native Christians. The missionaries of the American Board were compelled to flee from Fuen-chow, and were then killed by the military escort by command of the governor. In Pao-ting-fu he caused all connected with the Evangelical mission (11 persons) to be massacred. No complete record is to be had as yet of the number of Chinese Christians whose lives have been sacrificed: it is beyond doubt, however, that it amounts to thousands.

their alliance with French power, always assume a challenging attitude, and, last of all, they have also brought the power of Germany into their service, inasmuch as the motive assigned to justify the occupation of Kiao-chow was that it was an atonement for the murder of two German Catholic missionaries, and a necessity for the continuance of Catholic missions in China. The method of conducting the Evangelical missions is not free from mistakes, but it was not the want of sufficient education, which is made a reproach to some of the missionaries, nor the employment of unmarried ladies in the pioneer and evangelising work of the missions, nor the numerous offences against Chinese etiquette and custom which have been committed, nor the active part in internal politics which some of the missionaries—Americans in particular—may have been taking: it was not all these together that occasioned the bloody catastrophe which in the year 1900 horrified the whole world.

At this moment the consequences of this catastrophe can by no means be foreseen. Chinese missions, in their wide extent, are at present still condemned to inactivity, although the missionaries are already returning in increasing numbers to the forsaken stations. How it will go with the re-entry into Manchuria, which has been occupied by the Russians, is still altogether a very doubtful question. It will be wise not to look too sanguinely into the future. Even if the Foreign Powers once again extort missionary and religious liberty from the Chinese, this will be no guarantee against a fresh eruption of the Chinese volcano. And in any case the whole conduct of the Powers leaves much new embitterment behind. Besides, we do not yet know how the majority of the Chinese Christians have stood the terrible fiery trial through which they have had to pass, although many splendid individual examples of joyous confession, courageous suffering and faithfulness till death, have been reported to us. Certainly the great suffering of the year 1900 will bring its passion-blessing, not only for Chinese missions, but also for missions in general; but at first we must prepare ourselves for a sifting. That China is standing at a great turning-point of its history, and that sooner or later its proud conservatism must, whether it will or not, reckon with a mighty reform movement, appears to be certain.

262. After these general observations, let us take a brief geographical survey of the great Chinese mission field.

In the little British island of Hongkong, with Victoria its flourishing capital and port (216,000 inhabitants), which since 1849 has also been the seat of an Anglican bishop, as many as 8 different Evangelical missions have settlements, including 2

German missions, the Basel Society and the Berlin Women's Union. The total number of their Chinese Christians, however, is not considerable (about 1700), possibly because the population fluctuates too much. For almost 30 years there laboured here Legge of the L. M. S., one of the greatest Chinese scholars, who made for himself a lasting name by his translations of the Chinese classics into English, and who was, at his death in 1897, professor in Oxford.¹

In close proximity to the British island of Hongkong lies Kwang-tung (Canton), the most southerly of the 18 provinces of China, with its capital of the same name. It was the earliest of all the Chinese mission fields, and has the largest number of missionaries, but it is not the most fruitful field, having about 18,000 church members. Among its population, which is estimated at 30 millions, the Hakka and Hoklo have shown themselves much more open to the Gospel than the Punti, while the comparatively uncivilised Miauts have been as yet little sought out among their mountains. With the exception of Canton, which forms the centre for a whole series of missionary societies, and possesses one of the most renowned mission hospitals (Dr. Kerr), the principal station is Swatow, where the ardent Presbyterian missionary Burns opened up the way. In the south-east and central east of the province the Basel Mission has in two districts, which it designates lowland and highland, 13 stations with over 6000 Christians: of these, Nyenhanghli and Hinnen, in the highland district, have the largest congregations. In 1897, Lechler, one of the pioneers of this mission, was able to celebrate the jubilee of his missionary service, which has been greatly blessed, along with the jubilee of the mission. The two other German societies, Berlin I. to the north and east, and the Rhenish to the south-east of Canton, have together only 3000 scattered Christians. To the province of Kwang-tung belongs also the large island of Hainan, in which since 1885 the North American Presbyterians have found a productive mission field at Kiung-chow, the capital, and at Nodoa.

The most fruitful of all the Chinese provinces, as has been already stated, is Fo-kien, which joins Kwang-tung on the north-east, and has 22 million inhabitants. Six societies are at work here, and of these the Episcopal Methodists, the C. M. S., the L. M. S., and the American Board have the largest number of adherents. Not only did the Gospel at first find little entrance, but it encountered much disturbance, opposition, and even bloody persecution, so that the C. M. S. even thought of withdrawing. Again, in 1895, 11 persons connected

¹ *Chin. Rec.*, 1898, p. 107, "Rev. Dr. Legge."

with their mission were murdered by a band of so-called Vegetarians at Kucheng. But for a considerable time before this bloody catastrophe a wide door had been opened to Christianity among the country population, under the energetic leadership of missionary Wolfe, and particularly by means of the testimony of native preachers rejoicing in their faith. And since the massacre, and for the very reason that the C. M. S. declined all retaliation on the part of the British Government, and even refused any payment in expiation, a Christian movement has begun which once again has proved the truth of the old saying, that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. This movement has its centre chiefly at the station of Kucheng, in the Fo-kien district, which lies north of the river Min. Outside of this district the most important mission centres are Amoy, Foo-chow, and Hing-wha. The island of Formosa, too, which now belongs to Japan, but was formerly included in Fo-kien, is a fruitful mission field of the English and Canadian Presbyterians. The English have occupied the south-western part of the island; their principal station is Taiwanfu. The Canadians have occupied the northern part; their principal station is Tamsui. Drs. Maxwell and Mackay, two practical missionary geniuses, have in a comparatively short time brought in great bands of Christians—over 7000—from the native tribes,¹ so that Dr. Mackay could write: "The Christian Church is now a real factor and a positive power in the intellectual and moral life of North Formosa." Since the island came into the possession of Japan, the Japanese Christians have also turned their attention to it as a mission field.

On the north of Fo-kien lies Che-kiang, a fertile province and specially rich in water-ways, but which was much depopulated by the Taiping Rebellion; at present it has about 12 million inhabitants. The ports of Ningpo and Hang-chow are the principal centres of Evangelical missions, which are here represented mainly by American Presbyterians and Baptists, the English Methodist Free Churches, the C. M. S., and the C. I. M.; the last has the main body of its converts here,—3800 communicants,—and has spread most widely over the whole province. Both in Ningpo and in Hang-chow there are gathered a considerable number of Christian missionary institutions, and a whole series of congregations, larger and smaller, have been formed within these cities, as well as at places within the range of their influence. These congregations are partly self-supporting, and are energetic in mission work. Among the

¹ Mackay, *From Far Formosa*, Edinburgh, 1896. [Dr. Mackay died in June 1901.—Ed.]

workers of the Anglican mission the missionary bishops Russell and Moule have especially distinguished themselves, the former in particular by producing important translations in the language of the people, printed not in Chinese characters but in Roman letters, which greatly facilitated the learning to read.

263. In the meantime we pass over the inland provinces to the westward, and, keeping along the coast northward from Che-kiang, reach the important industrial province of Kiang-su, with its 21 million inhabitants. The mission centre here is Shanghai, the chief port of China for the foreign trade. It is the seat of the Anglican missionary bishop of Mid-China, of a training institution for the workers of the China Inland Mission, and of the extensive literary work of the Educational Association of China,¹ and is the centre of the very varied activity of a considerable number of English and American missionary societies. Apart from Shanghai, the most important mission posts in the province are at Suchow, a beautiful town, but wholly given up to the opium vice, at Shin-kiang and at Nan-kin, which has a university of the Episcopal Methodists. In spite of diligent labour, the direct missionary result is still everywhere but scanty. Only the last few years report a considerable increase.

Shan-tung, the next province to the northward, which was the home of Confucius, Mencius, and Laotse, has a population of 36 millions, and is a fruitful mission field. Next to the American Presbyterians, who have 6 chief stations (Cheefoo, Cheenan, Weibien) with over 5000 full church members, the most successful work here is carried on by the English Baptists, mainly in and around Ching-chow, with 3500 members; the American Board in Pang-chuang, with 700; and the English New Methodists in Lao-ling, with 2500. The total number of evangelical Chinese in the province of Shan-tung is at least 25,000; that of the baptized Catholics, 31,000. It was in the south of this province that the murder of the two German Catholic missionaries took place at the end of 1897, which gave the occasion for the long-prepared-for acquisition of the Bay of Kiao-chow. The Berlin (I.) Missionary Society and the General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Union at once entered on mission work here.

The most northerly of the 18 provinces of China proper is Pe-chi-li, with a population of 18 millions, which only became accessible to evangelical missions in 1860. It is a mission field of the L. M. S., the American Board, the American Presbyterians, the Episcopal Methodists, the C. I. M., and the Anglican S. P. G., which has in Peking a bishop for North China. All

¹ *Records of the Third Triennial Meetings of the E. A. C., 1900.*

these together have in their congregations about 16,000 Christians under their care, the majority of whom belong to the country population, although the different missionary institutions are concentrated in the large cities of Tientsin (where Dr. Edkins of the L. M. S. began work in 1861) and Peking, the capital of the empire. The medical mission in this province exerts unusual influence, and it enjoys high repute even among the heathen. To the north-east of Peking, Gilmour, the zealous missionary of the L. M. S., set on foot a Mongolian mission which has its centre at Tassukow.

264. These 6 coast provinces are the oldest and most largely occupied part of the Chinese mission field. The much greater area of the 12 inland provinces has been occupied much more slightly, and only since the Sixties and Seventies, and by slow degrees. In the two provinces of Shan-se (12 millions) and Shen-si ($8\frac{1}{2}$ millions),¹ which lie to the west of Pe-chi-li, in addition to the English Baptists and the American Board, the C. I. M. and the kindred Swedish China (Alliance) Mission, have an extensive field with a large number of small congregations scattered over it. The adjoining province of Kan-su (9 millions), which extends still farther westward, although much traversed by the missionaries of the C. I. M., has only a few scattered Christians. In the province of Ho-nan (22 millions), too, lying southward of Shan-se, there are only a few small congregations of the C. I. M. In Se-chuen (67 millions), on the other hand, to the south of Shen-si and Kan-su, not only the C. I. M., but also the L. M. S., the C. M. S., and the American Board, have a fairly extensive and not unfruitful field of labour. To the east of Se-chuen, and to the south and south-east of Ho-nan, lie the provinces of Hu-pe (34 millions) and Ngan-whi (21 millions), which borders on Kiang-su: both of these are occupied at numerous points by the C. I. M., the L. M. S., the Methodists, the American Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Established Church of Scotland. The chief stations in Hu-pe are Wu-chang, Han-kow, opened in 1861 by Dr. Griffith John of the L. M. S., and I-chang, on the Yangtse-kiang. To the south of Ngan-whi, and to the east of Fo-kien, we come to the province of Kiang-si ($24\frac{1}{2}$ millions), which is largely occupied by the C. I. M. In Hunan (21 millions), which borders on Kiang-si to the west, and which is specially notorious for its hatred of foreigners, the missionaries have now at last succeeded in laying the foundation of some Christian congregations. In the province of Kwai-chow ($7\frac{1}{2}$

¹ In Ssi-ngan-fu, the capital of this province, is the famous monument, erected in the year 781, the inscription on which, in Chinese and Syriac, sets forth the success of the old Nestorian mission.

millions), farther to the west, and in Yun-nan ($11\frac{1}{2}$ millions), the province to the south of it, the C. I. M. has gained only a few isolated Christians. But a considerable number of small congregations have been gathered in Kwang-si ($5\frac{1}{2}$ millions), which is situated between Yun-nan and Kwangtung.

265. Bordering on the most northerly of the 18 Chinese provinces is Manchuria, divided into the districts of Feng-tien, Kirin, and Heilung-kiang, with a population of at least 18 millions. Under the capable leadership, since the early Seventies, of Dr. John Ross, a missionary of the Scottish United Presbyterians, as distinguished as a linguist as he is ingenious and sound in his missionary methods, Manchuria has become one of the most hopeful evangelical mission fields of China. This outstanding man overcame great initial difficulties, and, despite a constant struggle with base Roman intrigues, he has succeeded in extending the mission from Moukden as centre, southwards to Newchwang, northwards to Kirin, and eastwards to Corea, and has established 10 chief stations, with 42 congregations, in connection with which over 10,000 communicants have been gathered. He has also been able to implant a living missionary spirit in these young congregations, and to procure for evangelical Christianity universal respect, by prudent forbearance towards justifiable Chinese peculiarities, and by avoiding all intermingling of the mission with politics and with the protection of worldly power. Especially after the war with Japan, which fell very severely on Manchuria, trying the faith of the Christians as by fire and giving opportunity for abundant exercise of mercy, the Christian movement assumed such dimensions that in a few years the number of full church members increased by thousands. As early as 1874 the Irish Presbyterians came to the aid of the Scottish, and from Newchwang and Kirin as centres laboured in brotherly agreement with them, and according to the same plan. The adult communicants connected with the Irish mission, the number of whom has now increased to 6500, are included with those of the Scottish mission in one common presbytery. In 1891 the Anglican Bishop of Corea stationed a missionary of the S. P. G. at Newchwang for the Europeans there. It is to be hoped that he will not disturb the successful mission of the Presbyterians, but will confine his work to the English colony.

266. The neighbouring country of Corea¹ was till recently shut out from intercourse with the world, as well as from

¹ Mrs. Bishop, *Corea and Her Neighbours*, London, 1896. *Miss. Rev.*, 1899, 291, "Glimpses of Korea"; 635, "Korea, Present and Future."



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evangelical missions, but it was somewhat shaken out of its bad economy by the war between China and Japan, and it has now ridiculously enough been raised to be an empire. Even in the middle of the Seventies the courageous Ross carried the Gospel into Corea; and to him, too, we owe the best history of the country. But an organised and permanent evangelical mission among the 5 million Coreans came into existence only after the Americans in 1882 had forced the opening of the country. The pioneer work was done by the American Presbyterians, particularly by the agency of Dr. Allen, a medical missionary who enjoyed the favour of the Court, and Dr. Underwood. They were followed by Episcopal Methodists (Dr. Hall) from the United States, and by the Church of England. A violent persecution was courageously endured, and now the work along the whole line is being attended with blessing. The most fruitful mission centre, next to Seoul, the capital, the port of Fusan in the south-east, and Chemulpo in the west, is Pyengyang in the north. More than 50 little congregations, with 7000 Christians in all, have already been formed, and this young mission field is universally regarded as one of the most promising. The well-known traveller, Mrs. Bishop (Isabella Bird), speaks in the most enthusiastic language of the surprising results of the mission which she has seen in Corea, especially in Pyengyang. The door has here been opened wide to evangelical missions, and though disappointments are not wanting, yet the hope of a great harvest is made all the stronger by the fact that the Coreans themselves are taking part in the work.

SECTION 5. JAPAN

267. From Corea our survey brings us to the last of the Asiatic mission fields, Japan,—the Land of the Rising Sun (Nippon).¹

This "Great Britain of Asia," with its energetic population numbering 43 millions, consists of four main islands, moun-

¹ Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*, New York, 1876. Kinse Shiriaku, *A History of Japan, from the First Visit of Commodore Perry in 1853 to the Capture of Hokodate by the Mikado's Forces in 1869*; translated from the Japanese by Satow, Yokohama, 1873. Mitford, *Stories from Old Japan*. Isabella Bird (Mrs. Bishop), *Untrodden Paths in Japan*. Stock, *Japan and the Japan Mission*, 3rd ed., London, 1898; and *Church Miss. Atlas*, 3rd ed., p. 197. Verbeck, "History of Protestant Missions in Japan," in the *Proceedings of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of Japan, held at Osaka in 1883*, Yokohama, 1883, p. 23. *Brief Survey of Christian Work in Japan, with special reference to the Kumiai Churches*, Boston, 1892. Green's translation (revised and enlarged) of Ritter, *Thirty Years of Protestant Missions in Japan*, Tokio, 1898.

tainous and mostly volcanic, stretching from north to south,—Yesso (Hokkaido), Hondo, Shikoku, and Kiushiu,—with a large number of small islands. Hondo is the largest island, and contains the most important towns. The country has an ancient history. Its ruling family is the oldest in the world, having held power since 600 B.C., and the present Mikado or emperor is the 123rd ruler in direct descent from Jimmu Tenno, the divine progenitor of the family. While the Chinese emperor enjoys divine honours in virtue of his office, which is not attached to his family, in Japan, on the contrary, it is the office of the emperor that is made sacred by the person of the Mikado. The imperial dignity is here bound up with the dynasty, which is invested with heavenly honour, and it can be transmitted to no other family.

Even during the period of almost 1000 years, when the power of government really belonged to the aristocracy, the Daimios, or Samurais, and then was concentrated in the hands of the Shogun, it could not be said that Japan had two rulers,—the one spiritual, the Mikado at Kioto, the other secular, the Shogun at Yeddo. The Shogun rather exercised the governing power in name of the Mikado, who, in spite of his seclusion and powerlessness, was always regarded as the real ruler of Japan. The power of the Shogun was broken in a decisive battle in 1868, the young Mikado, Mutsu Hito, who came to the throne the year before, having placed himself on the side of the party of progress, which recognised the necessity both of intercourse with foreigners and of the consolidation of authority in Japan. Since that time the Mikado has been, not in name merely, but in fact, the real ruler of Japan.

With the Mikadoship was, and still is, closely connected Shintoism, the religion of the country. It is a religion which has indeed no idols, but has temples, priests, ritual observances, prayers, purifications, and bloodless sacrifices, which observes a kind of sun- and ancestor-worship, and proclaims as the chief commandment, obedience to the Mikado, the descendant of the Sun-goddess. This connection of the sovereignty and politics of Japan with the Shinto doctrine gives to the reaction against Christianity a religious-national tinge which neither missions nor the enlightenment which is pouring in with Western civilisation have been able to efface.¹ In spite, however, of the influence which Shintoism, as the Government religion, exerts on the social and political life,

¹ Professor Kume, of the Imperial University at Tokio, who on scientific, not religious, grounds had declared the descent of the Mikado dynasty from the Sun-goddess to be a pure legend, was in 1892 first compelled to recant, and then deposed from his office.

Buddhism, which made its way into the country in the sixth century of our era, is much more popular, the more so that in the ninth century there was a kind of amalgamation of the two religions, and Buddhism, divested of its atheistical philosophy, passed altogether into a popular ritualism, with ceremonies, orders of priests and monks, fasts, indulgences, pilgrimages, etc. Confucianism, which comes into contact with the Shinto doctrine at many points, has also gained entrance and influence in Japan, especially among the educated classes. And so there is a mixture of religions, almost like that in China, which makes it impossible to give exact statistics with respect to the number of the adherents of the different religions. Religious depth and inwardness do not belong to the character of the Japanese; they are mainly rationalists, and dominated by secular interests, a feature which has an important influence on their attitude towards Christianity.

268. Three and a half centuries ago they made the acquaintance of Christianity in the form of Catholicism. The Jesuit mission, begun by Xavier in 1549, produced in a short time comparatively great results, even if the 2 millions of Catholics said to have been in Japan at the beginning of the seventeenth century are a gross exaggeration. Not to speak of other superficial methods of conversion, these results were obtained mainly by means of a political alliance with a Shogun who was hostile to Buddhism; and when, in addition to this alliance, the Jesuits also entered into foreign political conspiracies, the saying was fulfilled in the case of this mission, "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."¹ One of the most cruel persecutions of Christians arose, which ended in the almost complete extirpation of Catholicism, and the exclusion not only of Christianity but also of all foreigners from Japan. This bloody catastrophe of 1637 was followed by a period of more than 200 years during which Japan was shut to the outside world, and Holland alone, under the most dishonouring conditions, was allowed to carry on a limited trade. It was only in 1853 that the American Admiral Perry forced the opening of two ports for the United States, a privilege which was soon claimed by other nations as well; and when it was secured to England in 1858, the isolation of Japan was at an end. It has already been mentioned that, in connection with this opening of the empire, the Shogunate was ten years later abolished. When the young Mikado had gained the mastery, and had made Tokio his capital, and when the Daimios had put their feudal privileges into his hand, a new period of Japanese history began. Within a few decades a revolution

¹ Warneck, *Protest. Beleuchtung*, p. 442.

in civilisation developed itself, which aroused the astonishment of the educated world, and which, especially after the victorious war with China, caused the island empire of East Asia to be recognised by the Western Powers as a rival of equal standing with themselves. The new Japan drew, especially from America and England, but also from Germany, instructors in all the branches of civilisation; in hundreds, even in thousands, it sent its sons abroad as pupils, and with a facility which is a splendid testimony to the ability of the nation, it appropriated all the attainments of Western civilisation. It made its own not merely the technical achievements in all the departments of industrial and military life, but the scientific as well, and these brought in a reform of the intellectual life. A new era in education began: a university was founded on the Western model, which has now several thousand students; the whole school system—advanced and elementary—was splendidly organised over the whole country, so that by 1893 there were $3\frac{1}{2}$ million children, including about 1 million girls, receiving instruction from 68,000 teachers; an extensive literary activity, including the production of journals and newspapers, sprang up, and correspondence by letter made an undreamed-of advance. Of course, all was not gold that glittered. Owing to the haste with which all these innovations spread over the country, there was a great want of solid foundation, and much of the veneer of culture passed for the solid reality. When we consider that modesty is not a national virtue of the Japanese, we can understand how in these circumstances much empty conceit gives itself airs, which is most disagreeable when the pupils pose as the masters of their teachers.

269. As it was the Americans who first opened the gates of Japan, so they too were first in the field with the Gospel of Christ. The first comers were the Protestant Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the (Dutch) Reformed Churches of the United States. Their first missionaries, of whom Williams, Dr. Hepburn (now emeritus), and Dr. Verbeck¹ (who died in 1898) afterwards rendered distinguished service, settled in 1859 at Nagasaki and Yokohama, where at first they obtained the right of residence only as teachers of English in Japanese schools. Christianity was still a *religio illicita*. The first missionaries, too, of the American Baptists (Goble), who came to Japan in 1860, of the English C. M. S. (Ensor), who came in 1869, and of the American Board, who came in 1871 (Greene, Gulick, Davis), on taking up their residence at Nagasaki and Kobe, could only secretly exercise their proper calling. Until 1873, when the old edict against Christianity

¹ Griffis, *Verbeck of Japan*, New York, 1901.

was repealed, and while public opinion was dominated by the prejudice against the preachers of Christianity, it was only here and there that public preaching was possible. In 1866, indeed, the first evangelical Japanese convert had been baptized, and in 1872 the first evangelical congregation, numbering only 11 members, had been constituted in Yokohama. The time of silent sowing was followed after 1873 by a period of free missionary movement, especially after the official connection of the State both with Shintoism and with Buddhism had been dissolved, and by the constitution of 1889 full freedom for missions had been proclaimed. More and more missionary societies took possession of the hopeful field; these were mostly American, including Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, and others, but there were also British, the S. P. G., C. M. S., and the Scottish United Presbyterians; and one German society, the General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Union, began work in 1885; so that in 1899 there were in Japan 32 societies, of which 20 were comparatively small, and these maintained 238 missionaries and 260 unmarried lady missionaries.¹

As the number of workers increased, the work of these missions in teaching, preaching, and literature developed both in extent and in thoroughness. Even beyond the Treaty Ports the missionaries extended their journeys and mission locations arose. Natives joined in the work, and the young congregations made encouraging efforts towards financial independence; in 1899 the sum of £10,000 (\$48,000) was raised; mass meetings took place in public places, and press controversies in the newspapers and in brochures made the discussion of Christianity the order of the day. In 1883 there were, after ten years' labour, 37 stations and 93 congregations, with 5000 adult church members, 63 mission schools with 2500 scholars, and 7 theological seminaries with 71 students, from which there had gone forth already 41 ordained native pastors and 108 assistant preachers not ordained. Of all the missionary societies the American Board takes more and more the leading place, partly on account of its congregational principles, which accorded well with the Japanese striving after independence; partly on account of the far-reaching activity of Nisima, a distinguished young Japanese whose desire for knowledge drove him to America, and who was there in a remarkable way led to become a Christian in connection with the Congregational Church. Subsequently he accompanied the great

¹ In the detailed statistical table which the Rev. Mr. Loomis in Yokohama draws up every year, the wives of missionaries are all included among the women workers. I have excluded them in my figures.

embassy under the Japanese minister Iwakura through America and Europe as interpreter, and after his return to his native country in 1875 he founded a famous Christian academy, the Doshisha at Kyoto.¹ This school, which was gradually extended into an university, had after ten years 230 students and after fifteen years 900, and up to the death of Nisima in 1890 exerted an influence for the Christianising of Japan which cannot be too highly estimated. During the reactionary movement which followed, when rationalism was increasing in strength, the Doshisha unfortunately turned into rather radical ways: it banished the American missionaries from its teaching staff, and refused to recognise the joint proprietary right of the American Board, which had supplied most of the means for the erection of the institution, — a proceeding which throws a very dark shadow on the gratitude of the Japanese. Indeed, the directors of the university, under the guidance of the president, the Christian preacher Yokoi, went so far as to strike out from the charter the paragraph which decreed for ever that the instruction should be wholly based on Christianity, or at any rate they made it apply exclusively to the theological department. This meant that the Doshisha had been secularised. No doubt the Independent congregations protested strongly against this, and even the secular Japanese press decidedly condemned the step; nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that the number of students considerably diminished, the objectionable resolution was adhered to, and it was only when a judicial issue of the matter was seriously threatened that the directors gave way, and men were chosen in their place who restored the original statute and guaranteed the Christian character of the university. Now it is attended by 170 students. When, on 29th November 1900, it celebrated its semi-jubilee, it could be shown that it had educated 4611 pupils (including 862 young women), of whom 838 had become graduates, 95 pastors, 147 teachers, and 28 Government officials. Lately the Presbyterians have overtaken the Congregationalists, and the Episcopal missions have also been steadily approaching them in influence and success.

Even in this second period the impulse of the young Japanese Christians towards independence asserts itself, as well as a striving after a unity which should bridge over the denominational limits of the American and English church systems. In 1872 and 1878 general conferences met at Tokio, with reference to the translation of the New Testament and the Old Testament respectively, which were completed, the former

¹ Hardy, *Life and Letters of J. H. Nisima*, Boston, 1892.

in 1879 and the latter in 1888, under the superintendence of Hepburn. And "the General Missionary Conference held at Osaka in 1883,¹ like a great review by the mission of its forces and achievements in presence of the enemy, showed the astonished Japanese, by the harmony of its transactions, that the Evangelical Church, with all its apparent division through denominational differences, was still a mighty united spiritual force. It also gave a new impetus to the activity of the missionaries, as much by increasing the consciousness of their strength and community of interest as by the fruitful exchange of ideas regarding the most varied missionary questions." In the following period, from 1883 onward, this striving towards unity found further expression in the combination of the Congregationalist, Presbyterian, and Episcopal congregations severally into one church corporation. The first became the Kumiai Kyo Kuwai—Congregational Church; the second, the Itchi Kyo Kuwai—United Church; the third, the Nippon Sei Kyo Kuwai—Episcopal Church of Japan. The Methodist congregations are also in process of combination, but the less numerous Baptist group, with 1900 members, and the various small separate missions, have not yet reached this stage. A general Evangelical National Church of Japan, the formation of which has been urged from many sides, is still, however, in the far distance.

270. The section of the Japanese mission beginning with 1883 falls into two periods, one till 1889 of growing advance, and one since then till now of lessening progress, pause, and even retrogression. In the five years up to 1889 the number of adult evangelical Christians rose from 5000 to 29,000, but in 1899 it was only about 41,800, or perhaps 75,000, including the baptized children and those not yet full members. In 1888 the number of adult baptisms for the year reached 7700; from that time the annual number fell off till in 1892 it was only 3700, and now it scarcely keeps up to this level. The rapid advance was occasioned far less by a universal hunger and thirst after righteousness, than by the co-operation of a number of factors unconnected with religion, which wrought a change of mind in favour of Christianity as an educational and cultural force, particularly among wide circles of the educated classes. The disestablishment of the native religions by the State, the new legislature, which paved the way for Christianity, and the recommendation of it on grounds of politics and culture, produced an atmosphere favourable for missions, in which the plenteously scattered seed of the Gospel

¹ *Proceedings of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of Japan, held at Osaka, Yokohama, 1883.*

was shone on as by the sun. Representatives of political liberalism and influential educationists, like Fukuzawa, vied with one another to make clear to their countrymen the necessity for the Christianising of Japan; to the same effect was a certain vanity which made the people desire to be regarded no longer by the Western nations as heathen, but to stand on the same level with them in every respect, even in religion; and as young Japan was at that time not yet filled with modern agnosticism and scepticism, many saw in Christianity a kind of religion of enlightenment which must be hailed as a liberator from the disgrace of idolatry.

271. Enthusiastic friends of missions, especially in America, were already dreaming that Japan would be Christianised even before the close of the nineteenth century,—when the tide turned, and a reaction set in, which did not, except in a few cases, go so far as open hostilities, but which not only brought the process of Christianisation to a standstill, but also severely sifted the congregations. Various causes combined to bring about this reaction, of which two were specially effective, namely: (1) With the rapid revolution in the whole political, social, and cultural conditions of Japan, a spirit of licentiousness gained ground, particularly among the younger generation, which brought dismay even to the enthusiasts of progress. The old conservatives, who gradually gained influence again, attributed this licentiousness to the decay of ancestral customs; and for this decay in turn they blamed the neglect of the old Japanese religion and morality, and the pernicious influence of foreigners, and especially of Christianity. They started the watchword that the Christian religion was undermining the fundamental Japanese virtues of filial affection and loyalty, and that in order to awake these again there must be a return to the old religions. And so, besides Confucianism, Shintoism especially was again patronised, and it was expected that the so-called New-Shintoism in particular would revive the old Japanese spirit. Moreover, the imperial rescript on the subject of education, which was issued in 1890, and which enjoined the implanting in the hearts of the young of the virtues of their forefathers, loyalty and filial love, was interpreted in a sense hostile to Christianity. Neither was Shintoism able to fulfil the hopes set on it, nor could Buddhism, which in particular took advantage of the reactionary movement to agitate actively in its own interest, and which is at present the chief opponent of Christianity, prove itself a power for moral reform, while Confucianism seems to have become utterly powerless. Nevertheless, the prejudice remains unbroken in the popular view, that Christianity threatens the

foundations of the empire and of imperial authority,—a prejudice which not even the splendid examples of patriotism afforded by Japanese Christians in the victorious war with China were able to break down. (2) This reproach to Christianity is very closely connected with a morbidly increased Japanese self-consciousness, which has imported into Japanese patriotism an excitability and sensitiveness which believes it to be necessary to preserve national peculiarities all the more jealously in view of the undeniable fact that Japan owes to foreigners its wonderful progress in civilisation. This feverish patriotism has taken the form, as a native pastor expresses it, of a “Japano-Centrism,” which, with the motto “Japan is the principle,” wishes everything to be “Japanised,” and goes so far as to make itself a kind of religion, and to set forth as alternatives, “Japan or Christianity.” The organ of this tendency, which has the motto referred to as its title, challenged the Christians not long ago to answer the following questions:—

1. Is it possible to reconcile the idea of the holiness of the Japanese Emperor with the teaching of Christianity, according to which Christ is the Supreme Ruler of all things visible and invisible?

2. Is it not contrary to the Japanese constitution to recognise, besides the sovereign of the country, other supreme beings, as a God, a Jesus, a Church, or a Bible?

3. Do the Christians propose to regard Jesus as a faithful subject of the Emperor of Japan, or do they propose to bring the Emperor under the dominion of Jesus, so that he is to pray: “Jesus, thou Son of God, have mercy on me”?

In addition to this patriotism, which had become almost a religion, and which was as much increased by the victorious war of 1894–1895 against China, as it was made more sensitive by the growing distrust of the East Asiatic policy of the European Powers, and which has not lost this distrust on account of the new treaties with the Western nations, setting aside the exterritoriality of foreigners in Japan, which came into force in 1899, there were two other circumstances which favoured the reaction. The first of these was the material business-spirit or industrialism, which is more and more gaining the ascendancy, and which “makes the aristocracy of wealth into the new and highest aristocracy of the country.” The second was European unbelief, ever rushing in more copiously, which has learned from Western science to see in Christianity a position which has been superseded. Count Ito, Japan’s most eminent statesman, well expresses the view of the leading circles when he declares: “I consider religion to be something quite superfluous in the life of a nation. Science stands high

above superstition, and what is every religion, be it Christianity or Buddhism, but superstition, and consequently a source of national weakness? I cannot regret the almost universal inclination in Japan to free-thinking and atheism, because I do not look on it as a danger to society." This tendency is supported not only by the Imperial University, which directly fosters it, but also by the Japanese system of education in general, which in principle excludes religion, and in fact is anti-Christian in its operation. Private schools are indeed still tolerated alongside of the State schools, but a law has been passed which forbids Christian religious instruction in these also, even as a subordinate subject, if they do not wish to be excluded from the rights which the State schools enjoy,—a law which naturally draws away the scholars from mission schools.¹ And finally, when we further take into account that by all these circumstances Christianity in Japan has been driven from the offensive to the defensive, and has itself been partly infected with an element of nationalism and rationalism, we are able to comprehend the reaction which has set in.²

272. Leading men among the Japanese Christians have indeed courageously opposed the extreme nationalism which regards loyalty as the sum of all the virtues; but they are themselves not untouched by the "Japanism" which intoxicates the whole nation. And this Christian "Japanism" is perhaps even more fatal than the non-Christian, because it threatens Christianity itself with the danger of an alteration of its essence. Influential Christians have, in fact, passed the watchword, "Japanese Christianity." The watchword would not be without its justification, if it implied that Christianity would respect and ennoble the rightful national peculiarities of Japan and would accommodate itself to these, particularly in the forms of worship and constitution. But the phrase is understood to mean a so-called "Christianity without dogma," which the Japanese are called to form in accordance with their own genius,—a Christianity different from Western, *i.e.* from historical Christianity, and running at last into rationalism and moralism, with something of Asiatic syncretism. Fortunately this tendency is not represented by the majority of Japanese theologians, who are, on the contrary, of the biblical-orthodox school; but its representatives are the men with the best-known names—*e.g.* Yokoi, the former president of the Doshisha—who have the chief say, in the press especially, and influence public opinion. This tendency is undoubtedly connected also with

¹ [This law seems, however, to have been allowed to drop into disregard as soon as promulgated.—ED.]

² *Miss. Rev.*, 1898, 170, "A Japanese Symposium."

the modern critical theology, introduced into Japan, not from Germany alone, which has produced in the heads of many young Japanese more confusion than enlightenment, and has favoured their inclination to rationalism. Great missionary results have been expected from "Japanised" and rationalised Christianity; but it is an instructive piece of irony that with the strengthening of this tendency Christianity has lost the best of its missionary power. Notably the Unitarianism imported from America, which for a long time had a great deal to say for itself, has completely vanished. "The people are tired of this critical and rationalistic tendency, and want bread."

A very pleasing feature in young Japanese Christianity was, and still is, its strenuous effort towards independence, a feature which cannot be sufficiently encouraged and fostered. But in connection with the morbidly increased national self-consciousness, the Christian striving after independence is in danger of becoming an exaggerated self-importance, and of turning out a hindrance rather than a help to missions, as the history of the Doshisha very tragically shows. Here again it is not the voice of all Japanese Christendom, but only of an influential circle, which does most of the speaking, that calls for absolute independence of the foreign missionaries, not merely for the removal of their superintendence, but even for the diminution of their numbers and their withdrawal at the earliest possible moment. This demand fills us with astonishment. Of the 43 millions of Japanese, 42,000 adults are evangelical Christians. Japanese Christianity is scarcely forty years old, and the most of its native leaders, whose number, too, is strongly on the decrease,¹ are young people, young in every respect. And a handful of these young Japanese Christians make the demand, "Away with the foreign missionaries! We Japanese can and will attend to the Christianising of our country ourselves,"—a pretension this, which, in view of the painful experiences already made with the leaders of the Doshisha, furnishes little warrant for hope. It is characteristic that it is very largely members of the independent congregations who put forth this demand, and it cannot be doubted that Congregationalism has fostered this unripe spirit of independence.²

¹ While in 1890 there were 350 students of theology, and in 1895, 295, the number had in 1899 sunk to 113. And what is still worse, many pastors already in charges have demitted their office and betaken themselves to other more remunerative callings. The loss of pastors is greatest amongst the Congregationalists,—a reduction from 73 in 1896 to 35 in 1899! Altogether the number of Japanese pastors in 1899 was 319. The number of other native workers has gone back from 725 in 1898 to 518 at the last return.

² And that although Congregationalism itself suffers so much from this spirit. Reference has already been made to the melancholy experience with the

Fortunately this spirit is encouraged almost exclusively by the American Board; the other missionary societies, although they are all labouring zealously to set the Japanese Church on an independent footing, are sober enough to judge that the time has not yet come for the mission in Japan to be left in the hands of the Japanese alone.

273. It is sad indeed that the Christianising of Japan has sustained a check, but the delay is no misfortune. It is better for the quality of Japanese Christianity that it should pass through a sifting process, than that it should attain dominion without struggle or suffering, by the help of motives inwardly alien to it. Of this period of Japanese reaction, as of the old reaction under Julian, the saying is true: *Nubicula est; transibit*—" 'Tis but a little cloud, and it will pass away." And unless all the signs deceive us, the reaction has already passed the flood. Regarded as a Divine sifting, it cannot be discouraging, the less so that even during that period the leaven of the Gospel has been secretly exerting its power, and that far beyond the circles, yet but small, of the baptized. From the reaction, the mission in Japan, formerly carried away by excessive hopes, has already learned two lessons. The first is that the mere hunger for culture has not the great missionary significance which was attributed to it in the first enthusiasm. The second is that the path of conquest of the Christian mission passes not from above downwards, but, on the contrary, from the depth to the height, and from the small to the great. It was characteristic of the Japanese mission that it had its chief locations in the large towns, and laboured for the most part among the higher classes of the population. The hopes entertained not only by the (German) General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Union, but also by other missionary societies, of winning the educated circles of Japan, and of their exerting a missionary influence over the people, have been—we cannot say, put wholly to shame, for there is a goodly number of men belonging to the higher classes who have become decided and influential Christians, but—fulfilled only in a very limited degree. No other than a missionary of the General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Union writes these characteristic words: "The time is past in Japan when Christianity was the fashion, and when it was regarded as an indispensable adornment of European culture;

Doshisha. But also the membership of the independent congregations is passing through a continuous process of sifting. In 1899 it numbered 10,016; ten years before it was about the same, and fresh admissions were reported every year; in 1899, again, 550. There must thus have been considerable withdrawals.

the crowds of educated people who formerly filled the churches have melted away. Missions will do well to turn with clear consciousness of their aim into the path marked out in the Saviour's words in Matthew xi. 25." If these lessons are generally taken to heart for the future, and if in consequence the Gospel, and that the old biblical Gospel, is preached more than hitherto to the poor in the towns and in the country, the period of reaction will have brought great gain. The striving, too, of the Japanese Christians to attain independence, which has an aspect so praiseworthy and so full of hope for the future, is gradually being brought, under wise guidance, into the lines, it is to be hoped, of an ever healthier activity.

274. Of the five larger groups of missions, the Presbyterians (7 societies) are at present in front, with 10,850 adult church members; next to them come the Congregationalists, with 10,200; then follow the Methodists (5 societies), with 9221; then the Episcopalians (5 societies), with 8000; and the Baptists (4 societies), with 2500. The only German missionary society at work in Japan, the General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Union, reckons only 112 church members. The Unitarians have completely vanished; the Universalists appear with 65 adherents. The statistical returns of the missionary societies do not exhaust the number of the Protestant Christians of Japan, since there exist independent congregations and scattered Christians, not included in the reports. Where the missionaries press on energetically towards the financial independence of the congregations, and confine themselves more to the indirect missionary method, as the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists do, no advance in numbers has for a long time shown itself; only in the case of the Methodists, Baptists, and Episcopalians, who have but few congregations financially independent, is an increase to be found. The grand total of scholars has also decreased to 11,670 in 1890,—a consequence of the secular Japanese school policy, to which reference has already been made. The number of the European and American missionaries has risen in the course of ten years, in the case of the men from 200 to 238, in the case of the women from 171 to 260; again the unhealthy phenomenon of the women missionaries beginning to outnumber the men.

In conclusion, we give a brief survey of the Japanese mission field, again in geographical order, beginning with the most northerly island, Yesso, or, as it is now called, Hokkaido, to which a considerable emigration is now being directed by the Japanese Government for the purpose of colonisation.

In this island the chief centres are Nemuru in the north-

east, where a successful work is carried on by the American Baptists, particularly among the fishing population, and the southern port of Hakodate, where, besides the Episcopal Methodists and the German Reformed Church of America, the C. M. S. has been at work since 1874. From this centre up to Sapporo in the west and Kuchiro in the east, the C. M. S. has 19 mission locations, and it is also engaged among the Ainus, a hill-people numbering some 20,000 souls, who stand on a low level of civilisation, and are believed to be the aborigines of Japan. They are given over to coarse Nature-worship and to drunkenness, but patient endurance, especially on the part of missionary Batchelor, who has also given form to their language, has resulted in the gathering from their midst of some 700 baptized persons. The American Board also does some mission work from Sapporo as centre. In the convict colony there it gathered a small congregation, but the work had to be given up for a considerable time owing to the opposition of Buddhist officials; it has now, however, in part at least, been resumed.

The chief centres of evangelical missions are to be found in the elongated island of Hondo, over which there extends from north to south a great net of mission stations, which are most numerous about the centre of the island. In Tokio, the capital, and in the port of Yokohama in particular, quite the half of the missionary societies at work in Japan have settlements, although the Presbyterians predominate. A multitude of the central educational institutions of the different denominational groups of missions are also situated here. The small German mission of the General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Union has likewise its headquarters at Tokio. All the Protestants together have in Tokio 62 churches, 13 financially independent congregations, 7850 communicants, 61 ordained Japanese pastors, 14 higher schools with 1820 scholars, and 29 elementary schools attended by 4550 children. Towards the north of the island, as far as its extreme point opposite to Yesso, the chief centres are,—on the eastern side, Fukusima, Yamagata, Sendai, Chinomaki, Furikawa, Moriaka, Awomori; on the western side, Niigata, Ishinosaki, and Hirosaki, some of these with numerous out-stations; the workers are mainly Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Baptists. To the south or south-west of Tokio, the chief missionary agency, along with the Presbyterians and the C. M. S., is the American Board, which has the bulk of its congregations at Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto, and Okayama. To the north of this strongly Christian district, at Nagoya-Gifu and Kanawasa, and to the south-west as far as Shimonosaki, at Hiogo, Matsuye, and Hirosima,

besides the stations of the societies already named, the most noteworthy are those of the Methodists, the Baptists, and the S. P. G.

In Shikoku, the third of the principal islands, the north is occupied mainly by the Anglicans, Baptists (at Tokushima), and Congregationalists (at Imabari). At Cochi, about the middle of the south coast, apart from an independent congregation founded by the American Board, the Presbyterians are the sole occupants of the field.

In the most southerly island of Kiushiu, the most prominent stations are Nagasaki and Kumamoto, on the west coast, both of which are occupied mainly by the C. M. S. and the American Board. The Anglican station of Fukuoka at the north of the west coast, and the Methodist station of Kagoshima at the south of it, are of minor importance.

The Episcopal group of missions has divided its Japanese field of labour into six dioceses, of which four—North and South Tokio, Kioto, and Osaka—are situated in Hondo, and the fifth and sixth embrace the islands of Hokkaido and Kiushiu. The first and the third of the Hondo dioceses are under American bishops. Of the English bishops, Bickersteth, recently dead, has left the deepest impression on the history of missions in Japan.

275. The total statistical result of the evangelical missions in Asia is somewhat as follows:—

Countries.	No. of Protestant Christians.
Western Asia (including the Oriental churches in general ¹)	85,000
British India—	
India proper	780,000
Further India	98,000
Ceylon	32,000
Non-British Further India	7,000
Dutch Indies	373,000
China and Corea	225,000
Japan	75,000
Total	<u>1,675,000</u>

¹I include these figures in the missionary statistics because they represent the result of a work of preparation for the mission to the Mohammedans.

CHAPTER V

OCEANIA

INTRODUCTION

276. From Japan we come last of all to Oceania.

Oceania is the widespread archipelago in the Great or Pacific Ocean between the east of Asia and the west of America. With the exception of Australia, which is regarded as a continent, it consists entirely of islands, almost all of which are of small extent. We shall best divide this great archipelago, with Meinicke,¹ into five main parts,—Polynesia, the farthest east and most extensive; Micronesia and Melanesia, the two western groups; Australia and, farthest south, the New Zealand group. This mass of islands, scattered over the largest ocean of the earth, is in this respect the most recent of all the divisions of the earth, that it has been the last to emerge from geographical darkness. Spanish and Dutch navigators, it is true, had, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, discovered some of the Oceanic islands,—the Solomon Islands, New Guinea, New Zealand, Vitu or Fiji, and Samoa. But it was only from 1769, after the epoch-making voyages of Cook, that this newest world began to play a real part in geographical, colonial, and missionary history. Since that time one archipelago after another has been explored, so that, with the exception of New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and some portions of the interior of Australia, almost the whole of Oceania may now be regarded as a region well known and to a large extent opened up to commerce.

As to the number of the native population in Oceania, no exact statistics can, indeed, be given. In most of the islands the climate permits white people to reside permanently, and in consequence they have settled extensively in all directions,

¹ Meinicke, *Die Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1875-76. This classical geography of the South Seas gives at the end of every chapter a precise and trustworthy bird's-eye view of the mission in each group of islands.



W & A. Johnston, Limited, Edinburgh & London

and most of all in Australia, New Zealand, and Fiji. Altogether the population of Oceania is estimated at over $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions, but the natives only make up about a third of this number (perhaps 1,700,000). It is, unfortunately, established as a fact that the native population is decreasing, and in some islands (especially—apart from Australia—in Hawaii and New Zealand) so rapidly that the natives are spoken of as dying out. The natives themselves are partly responsible for this, for they were so demoralised by their own vices that they had not sufficient power of resistance to bear the abrupt transition from the simplest life of nature to civilisation; but the blame lies to a far greater extent on the white people, who brought in destructive diseases, treated the natives unsparingly, often, as in Australia, for example, deliberately fought for their extermination, or provoked them to acts of vengeance and war, for which a bloody requital was then taken, and not seldom upon innocent people.¹ Much destruction of human life has been wrought, in particular, by the so-called labour traffic, which was often enough not to be distinguished from slave-catching, and which has only within the last few decades been placed under effective control.² The criminals transported by England and France to their Oceanic possessions also proved mischievous corrupters of the natives.

It goes without saying that these were unable to maintain their political independence in face of the growing immigration of colonists, and the ever more acquisitive colonial policy of the Great Powers of Europe. England and France, not to speak of Holland, first vied with each other in taking possession of the most valuable regions, and then Germany, Spain, and recently even the North American Union, appropriated Oceanic possessions, and it will not be long till the small remaining portion is also divided.

The discoveries of Cook awakened at the time in Europe a romantic enthusiasm, not only for the lovely islands, with their ravishing beauties of nature, but for their inhabitants as well, who were pictured as the happiest children of nature. People were so enchanted with the new island-world that they imagined they had there discovered Paradise. Soon, however, the aspect of things was changed. Bloody conflicts arose, mostly through the fault of the white people; and when the natives were found to be wild men with many

¹ Warneck, *Die gegenseitigen Beziehungen zwischen der modernen Mission und Kultur*, v. p. 224, with abundant references to sources and examples.

² *The Cruise of the Rosario amongst the New Hebrides and Santa Cruz Islands, exposing the recent Atrocities connected with the Kidnapping of Natives in the South Seas*, London, 1873.

often very cruel practices, and even given to cannibalism, those who had been angels to begin with were now devils, against whom any act of violence was held to be permitted.

277. Even evangelical missions were at the outset a little under the spell of the South Sea romance. Cook's discoveries had in truth contributed very largely to the reviving of the missionary idea in old Christendom, and to the selection by the L. M. S., the second of the newly established missionary societies, of Tahiti as its first mission field, and there the enthusiastic optimism was soon sobered by bitter experiences with the natives. Among all the fair flowers the serpent was found hidden, and the conversion of the islanders was found not to be so easy as had at first been hoped. But the enthusiasm thus sobered was not quenched; it only became more sound. The L. M. S., which gradually extended its work over a great part of Polynesia, and afterwards from there as far as New Guinea, was followed by the C. M. S. in New Zealand; by the Wesleyans, chiefly in the Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa groups, and later in the present Bismarck Archipelago; by the S. P. G., which pressed into different fields already occupied; and by the Melanesian Mission, akin to the S. P. G. in character, in Eastern Melanesia. Further accessions, in some cases even prior in time, were the American Board in Hawaii, from which it passed at a later time to Micronesia, and the Scottish and Canadian Presbyterians in the New Hebrides. German missions have been at work only to a limited extent,—the Moravians and for a time the Hermannsburg mission in Australia, and the North German Missionary Society in New Zealand. The numerous white settlers, in Australia and New Zealand in particular, soon formed for themselves church organisations, and so the colonial church communities joined the societies of their several denominations in the Oceanic Mission work. The Wesleyans acted most independently of all, for their Australian Conference took over the whole Wesleyan mission in Oceania. But the Presbyterians, Anglicans, Lutherans, etc., in Australia also carry on, to a greater or less extent, independent mission work. Almost all these missions have had to bear a great deal of opposition and calumny on the part of the white people, the traders in particular, who believed the missions to be injurious to their interests. These, however, have found a defender in the geographer Meinicke, who has convincingly proved the selfishness of their assailants.

From the middle of the Thirties, when evangelical missions in Oceania had already achieved considerable success, the Roman missions, in alliance with the French colonial policy,

and under the protection and even the armed co-operation of French warships, pushed their way in a disturbing and destructive manner into the field, with the avowed aim of Catholicising the Protestant islanders. On the whole, however, they have not gained much success, even where they have French force behind them. The number of the native Catholic Christians cannot be exactly stated, since the Roman statistics always misreckon the Catholic population and include the white settlers.¹ It will hardly exceed 70,000.

The statistical result of evangelical missions is almost five times as great: there are to-day, in round numbers, 300,000 native evangelical Christians in Oceania. A considerable number of islands and groups of islands have been wholly Christianised, and that through the labour of evangelical missionaries. Not only have cannibalism, human sacrifices, the murder of children, and the like cruelties completely disappeared, but altogether such a transformation has taken place, that ethnologists are raising pathetic complaints, because in great parts of Oceania they can scarcely find any remnants of the old heathen conditions; and even travellers hostile to missions, and eager for the sight of nudities, make such a confession as this: "In the Christian period peace and order have visited these erewhile savages, and hypocrisy has made them happier."² The Christianising of the Oceanic Islands has not proceeded altogether in an ideal way; the wars of the native princes and all sorts of other influences exerted by the

¹ The *Missiones Catholicae* returned for 1898, 704,170 Catholics in Australia, and 196,850 in insular Oceania. These numbers, however, can only deceive the ignorant. Among the Australian Catholics there are at best some hundreds of Aborigines, and among the insular Catholics, of the 90,090 New Zealanders alone, there are over 85,000 white people; and in New Caledonia, of the 34,500 Catholics, at most 8000 are natives, etc. In New Guinea 2000 Catholics are counted. An example of the unreliable character of the whole of the official statistics of the Propaganda is furnished by the fact that the table of the "position of the Catholic Church in Australia" contains as a corollary the remark, "There are in Australia and Tasmania over 2,400,000 inhabitants." But, according to the census for 1891, there were already 3,230,000.

² So, e.g., M. Buchner, *Reise durch den Stillen Ocean*, Breslau, 1878: "Yet I am convinced (although, as he says, there is no class of Europeans with which he has less sympathy than with the hypocritical Reverends) that the missionaries have won for themselves great credit for what they have done for the welfare of the natives. Formerly despotism and cannibalism, mutual fear, insecurity of life and property, a state of war of all against all, lay heavily upon the population. Now, in the time of Christianity, peace and order have come among them. Even though one does not need literally to believe all that stands in the reports of the missionaries, it is still not to be denied that the state of things, especially among the Fijians, was bad enough in the pre-Christian time, and that Christianisation has brought about a highly satisfactory advance. And if hypocrisy makes them happier, why should hypocrisy be bad and blameworthy? I would only like to call out, 'Thus far and no further'" (p. 253).

chiefs have played a part in it; still, on the whole, it has been the power of the Gospel that has brought about the change. The Bible is read in forty Oceanic languages, into which it has been in whole or in part translated; the numerous schools are attended by more than 100,000 scholars of both sexes, and several thousand natives are engaged in successful work as teachers and pastors. A large number of congregations are self-supporting, and from their midst whole bands have gone forth as missionary pioneers, at the risk of their life, carrying the Gospel to islands near and far. Perhaps nowhere in the whole mission field has native co-operation been so extensive and successful as in Oceania. Besides the secret of the Divine blessing and this native co-operation, another source of the comparatively rich harvest in many of the South Sea Islands has been the fact that many of the people were tired of the wicked heathen life, that the old heathenism had very little power of resistance, and that the missionaries had here to do with a population which was not only easily accessible by sea, but which also, by reason of its division among many islands, constituted little communities, which made it possible for work done on individuals to have at the same time an immediate influence on the whole.

SECTION 1. POLYNESIA

278. After this general bird's-eye view we shall make the round of the various archipelagoes with their separate groups, many of which have a romantic history of their own. We shall proceed, however, not from the Asiatic to the American side, but in the opposite direction, a course which in the main has been also that of the missionary history of Oceania. We begin, then, with Polynesia. This great archipelago is inhabited by a population of good physique, akin to the Malay race, even in its language of many dialects. It is divided into 8 minor archipelagoes, the Hawaii, Marquesas, Paumotu (Low Archipelago), Society, Hervey (or Cook), Samoa, Tonga (Friendly), and Viti or Fiji Islands. These comprise many groups, and there are also many isolated islands.

The most northerly of the Polynesian groups are the volcanic Hawaii or Sandwich Islands, as they were named by Cook, their second discoverer, who was first worshipped by the inhabitants as a god, and then murdered in 1779.¹ This

¹ Hopkins, *Hawaii, the Past, Present, and Future of its Island Kingdom*, London, 1862. Anderson, *The Hawaiian Islands; their Progress and Condition under Missionary Labours*, Boston, 1864. And *History of the Mission of the A. B. C. F. M. to the Sandwich Islands*, 3rd ed., Boston, 1872.

group, lying nearly half-way between Japan and North America, whose capital, Honolulu, is in Oahu, one of the four largest islands of the group, was recently annexed by the United States, much to the chagrin of Japan, which believed that it also had a right to the islands, owing to the increasing bands of Japanese immigrants, who number now 25,000. The native Kanaka population is given to sensual excesses, and seems to be doomed to extinction; it numbers only 31,000, or, with 8500 half-breeds, 39,500, as against a number thrice as large at the end of the Thirties.¹ Of the numerous immigrants who are taking their place to an even larger extent, the majority are Japanese, Chinese (20,000), and Portuguese (8200). There are 13,700 native white people. The real mastery was, however, for a long time before the annexation, in the hands of the American settlers, who have now increased to more than 2500. The whole population amounts to 110,000.

The field was favourably prepared for missions by the attempts at civilisation made by the warlike King Kamehameha I., who united all the islands of the group under his sceptre, and by the abolition of taboo and of idolatry by his successor, Liliuokalani, in 1819. The American Board had its attention drawn to the islands by the coming of some young Hawaiians to America, and it began a mission in 1820 which met with little opposition, but was rather supported by the favour of the court and the chiefs, and which soon achieved surprising success. At the end of half a century the work of Christianisation proper was completed,—a work which, partly on account of the great accompanying advance in civilisation, was with rhetorical exaggeration designated “a miracle of the nineteenth century.” Unfortunately, through the doctrinairism of the Independents, the young church was prematurely left to stand alone; in 1870 the Hawaiian Evangelical Association was entrusted both with the supply of pastors for the congregations, numbering more than 50, and with the prosecution of a Hawaiian mission in Micronesia; only, the superintendence of the mission was kept by the American Board in its own hands, and in 1877 it again set an American director at the head of the Theological College. This fatal mistake, which assigned to the native pastors tasks to which they were not yet equal, not only injured the inward development, but also reduced the number of church members, which has now fallen to about

¹ Great devastation is wrought by leprosy. The majority of the victims of this disease are isolated and nursed on the island of Molokai at the cost of the Government, and are cared for spiritually both by evangelical and by Catholic clergy. The highly extolled Father Damian was by no means the only pastor who ministered to the lepers. Like him, an evangelical minister, Hanalea, also died of leprosy on Molokai.

16,000.¹ A large number (11,000) were enticed over to the active Roman mission, which for a long time had been pressing in; a smaller number were gained by the Anglican mission, represented by the S. P. G., which even established a bishopric in Honolulu, which, however, since the American occupation, is transferred to the Protestant Episcopate of the United States. The moral condition of the congregations, too, is not very satisfactory; recently, however, there are said to be signs of improvement. On the other hand, the financial achievements are considerable. Mission work is carried on with some success among the immigrant Japanese and Chinese, both by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association and by Anglican and Japanese preachers; as a result of this, there are 1550 Christians.

From Hawaii we must take a long voyage to the south-east, in order to reach the eastern groups of Polynesia, the Marquesas Islands and the Paumotu Islands, or Low Archipelago. Both of these groups may, however, be quickly passed over, since evangelical missions, represented in them by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association and the Paris Missionary Society, have only some 1000 adherents altogether. In both groups the Catholics have intruded themselves, and, favoured by the French occupation, have succeeded in hampering the work of evangelical missions.

279. The Society Islands, lying next to the Paumotu Islands on the west, are of outstanding importance in the history of evangelical missions. These are divided into the Eastern or Windward group—Tahiti, Murea, etc.; and the Western or Leeward group—Raiatea, etc. In Tahiti, whose inhabitants, as cheerful as they were immoral, had roused their discoverers to enthusiasm, the L. M. S. began its work in 1797, amid many mistakes, disillusionments, and discouragements.² When, after sixteen years of patient labour, some hundreds of islanders at last professed their readiness to become catechumens, a sanguinary struggle ensued, and only a sweeping victory of King Pomare, who favoured the Christians, gained the day for the mission. The idols were burned, the old heathen customs were abolished, and after Pomare, the "Clovis of the South Seas," had in 1819 submitted to baptism, his example was followed in the period up to 1826 by 8000 of his subjects. By 1835 the whole Bible had been translated,

¹ The number is perhaps some thousands more, since probably many among the 7000 returned as "heathen or unbelievers" may still be nominally evangelical Christians.

² Cousins, *The Story of the South Seas*, London, 1894, chaps. i.-iv. Horne, *The Story of the London Missionary Society*, London, 1894, chaps. ii. and viii. Lovett, *The History of the L. M. S.*, i. p. 117.

and Christian morality had been raised to the position of law. Attracted by these successes, a violent Catholic propaganda intruded itself in 1836, under the protection of French war-ships, and stirred up confusion; in 1842 a French protectorate was forced on the islands, and full annexation followed in 1880, with the proclamation of Catholicism as the State religion.¹ In spite of this, the Catholic counter-mission gained little foothold. The congregations already under the care of native pastors proved themselves more firmly established in the evangelical confession than had been expected; the Paris Missionary Society had to take the place of the L. M. S., which was expelled, and from 1863 onward it gradually succeeded in constituting a French National Church of Tahiti, which now numbers 4900 adult members in the whole group (15,000 Christians). The French Catholic occupation has, however, acted very detrimentally on the moral life of the islanders. Owing to the interposition of the British Government, the western Society Islands remained, to begin with, untouched by the French protectorate. In Raiatea, the largest of these, John Williams, the most renowned of all South Sea missionaries, had been located since 1819; he prepared the way for its Christianisation, and made it the starting-point of his extensive missionary voyages.² At the end of the Eighties, however, these western islands were also incorporated in the French colonial possessions; the London missionaries were expelled, and the Paris Missionary Society was under the necessity of taking over this mission field also. The church life has suffered much harm under the resistance which the natives offered to French acts of violence. The French Austral Islands, likewise belonging to the Society Islands, were Christianised from Tahiti, and have till now remained wholly evangelical. They, too, had to be given over to the Paris Missionary Society, which, however, really does no more than superintend the native pastors.

The Hervey Archipelago, which lies farther to the west and is now under British rule, is also completely Christianised and civilised. Rarotonga is the largest of its islands, and also the best known,—in former times through Williams and Gill, the translator of the Bible, and now on account of its excellent mission school. Meinicke (vol. ii. pp. 150 sq.) writes: "In this archipelago the (London) missionaries have been able to work since 1821, without being disturbed by the intrusion of Catholic elements. It cannot be denied that they have here attained extraordinary results,—among a specially gifted people,

¹ Pritchard, *Missionary's Reward: Gospel in the Pacific*, London, 1844.

² Prout, *Memoirs of the Life of John Williams*, London, 1843.

it is true,—and have promoted the development of a civilisation not to be equalled in any other part of Polynesia. To their zeal and efforts, too, must partly be ascribed the salutary and praiseworthy work accomplished by the Rarotongans trained by them as teachers, in the conversion of the inhabitants of other islands as far as Melanesia and even New Guinea.” The total number of Christians in the Hervey Islands to-day may be about 9000, including the Christians in the Manihiki Islands, to the northward, and in Savage Island (Niue), to the westward, to which the Gospel was brought by a Samoan evangelist and by Dr. Lawes.

280. The Samoan group, which was opened up by Williams, and which has now become in the main German, and in part also American territory, is completely Christianised, and has 32,000 evangelical Christians. Besides the London missionaries, Wesleyan missionaries also settled, contrary to agreement, in Samoa, and unfortunately they were followed by Catholics as well, who have now some 4000 adherents. Here, too, the progress of Christianity was surprisingly rapid, although wars repeatedly broke out in which there was a recrudescence of heathenism.¹ By 1863 the whole Bible had been translated by Pratt and Turner, and it was printed by the Samoans themselves. The security consequent on the work of the missionaries was favourable to the settlement of numerous European and American merchants. Unfortunately, the jealous competition of the three Western Powers for dominion over the islands involved the natives in many sanguinary quarrels, which caused much harm to their spiritual life. From the beginning of the Sixties the Gospel was propagated by converted Samoans and Rarotongans, also in the little groups of the Tokelau and Ellice Islands, and in the five most southerly of the Gilbert Islands, which last, however, bring us into Micronesia. The first two groups are already wholly Christianised, and in the southern Gilbert Islands more than half of the people are Christians. In Samoa the L. M. S. has altogether about 11,000 Christians under its care.

281. In the Tonga or Friendly Islands, which lie to the south-west of Samoa, and now belong to Britain, the London missionaries were again the pioneers. In 1822, however, this field was given over entirely to the Wesleyans, who have Christianised it and kept it in their possession without aid or interference, except that the Catholics have insinuated themselves and taken up their position, especially in some small islands—Uea or Wales, etc.—which have been annexed by France.²

¹ Turner, *Nineteen Years' Missionary Life in Polynesia*, London, 1880.

² West, *Ten Years in South Central Polynesia*, London, 1865.

There are about 17,000 evangelicals and 2500 Catholics. Here, too, after failure at the outset, the political struggles between the heathen and Christian parties ended in the victory of Christianity, when the chief Taufaahau, a friend of the Christians, who became afterwards King George, attained to sole dominion. This universally esteemed prince, who only died in 1893 at the age of 100 years, was not only able to maintain the independence of his well-ruled little island kingdom, but was also, by his personal piety, a bright example to his people.¹ When his minister, Baker, a former missionary and a violent man, was in power, the king, in his displeasure with an arrangement of the Australian Wesleyan Missionary Conference, formed a free church independent of the Conference; but under the next minister there was an end to the vexatious frictions which this act occasioned among the Christian population.

282. The Viti or Fiji Islands, the most westerly of the Polynesian archipelagoes, with the two chief islands of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, are also almost wholly Christianised.² The Wesleyans are here again the only workers, excepting the S. P. G., which does mission work mainly among the imported labouring population, and again the Catholics. Of about 109,000 native Fijians, over 100,000 are evangelical Christians, of whom 44,000 are church members. The victory gained by the Gospel in a comparatively short time over these once rude cannibals forms one of the most fascinating chapters in the history of modern missions. The victory was not gained, however, without warlike struggles, in which Thakombau, afterwards the excellent Christian king, was aided by George, the king of the Tongans. After preparatory attempts on the part of teachers from Tahiti, the first Wesleyan evangelists and missionaries from Tonga began in 1825 their dangerous work amid continuous wars and scenes of horror. Of the evangelists, Joel Bulu³ exerted a great influence: the first missionaries were Calvert and Hunt. After two decades, within which the

¹ The German Imperial Government, in one of its official memorials, paid him the following tribute: "King George, who both by wars, skilfully and courageously carried on, and by wise measures of government and circumspect diplomacy, has succeeded in uniting under his sceptre the different groups of the Tonga Archipelago, is a ruler who has at heart the real good of his people. He is striving to procure for them the advantages, which he himself recognises, of a higher state of civilisation, and for this reason he is universally beloved. In the personality of the king, therefore, there is also a guarantee of the just treatment of the Europeans living in the Tonga Islands."

² Rowe, *Fiji and the Fijians*, by Thomas Williams, and *Missionary Labours among the Cannibals*, by Calvert, 2 vols., London, 1870. Warneck, *Missions-strunden*, II. i., 4th ed., Nos. 17-19.

³ Joel Bulu, *The Autobiography of a Native Minister in the South Seas*, London, 1871.

whole Bible had been translated, a third part of the population was already under the influence of the Gospel. And yet so late as 1867, missionary Baker was murdered by the hostile heathen. In 1874 the islands were annexed by Britain at the desire of the king, who was being oppressed by the French. Soon afterwards a fearful epidemic of measles broke out, which carried off about 35,000, almost the third part of the population at that time. But few of the Christians, however, fell away, although the heathen remnant did not fail to represent the epidemic as a punishment by the gods for the acceptance of Christianity and of British rule. The old heathen customs have been completely abolished.

The English Governor, Gordon, testifies: "A work has been done here which for thoroughness and magnanimity surpasses all my expectations." Over 1300 churches and chapels have been built by the natives themselves. The congregations have 70 native pastors, and the large seminary for preachers located since 1873 at Navuloa in Viti Levu has 108 pupils, and from it many evangelists have gone forth to other islands of the South Seas. There are nearly 2000 mission schools, in which more than 37,000 children receive instruction. Native judges administer justice, and native physicians treat the sick. In short, the old Fiji has passed away and a new Fiji has arisen.

SECTION 2. MELANESIA

283. To the west of the Fiji Islands, which are now indeed ethnographically included in it, lies Melanesia. It is divided into six archipelagoes, which lie in a curve round about the mainland of Australia in the following order, from south to north and north-west: New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Queen Charlotte or Santa Cruz Islands, Solomon Islands, New Britain, now the Bismarck Archipelago, and New Guinea. These archipelagoes are inhabited by a dark-skinned population, with many languages, either Papuas or of the Papua type, who were specially notorious, and to some extent still are so, for their wildness and their distrustful and thievish manner of life. In some of these archipelagoes the climate is very unhealthy. Missions are here much more recent than in Polynesia, and in consequence they are still to a large extent in the initial stage of difficulty and frequent peril, and so are surrounded with a certain romance. The chief evangelical missionary agencies at work in Melanesia, besides the London and the Wesleyan societies, are the Anglican Melanesian Mission, the Scottish, American, and Australian Presbyterians, with two German societies and one Dutch. In several groups the pioneer work

of the mission has been done by native Polynesian evangelists, among whom there have been a large number of men who were ripe Christians and as brave as they were able. Here, as in Polynesia and in Micronesia also, mission ships are an indispensable means of communication.

New Caledonia proper, the most southerly of the Melanesian archipelagoes, where France, always so inhospitable to evangelical missions, has a large criminal colony, may be passed over, since it is accessible almost exclusively to Catholic missions. In the Loyalty Islands, however, which belong to New Caledonia, the L. M. S. has succeeded in keeping the field, which it has almost wholly Christianised, and in which there are 10,000 evangelical Christians. It has indeed had to struggle with the most hateful Romish competition, and it certainly to some extent owes the maintenance of its position only to the fact that along with it a French pastor took his place at the head of the free church formed by the native Protestants, an expedient necessitated by the violent removal of missionary Jones from Maré at the end of 1887.

284. In the New Hebrides we enter the most largely occupied and most hopeful of the evangelical mission fields of Melanesia, the field, too, which has been most consecrated by the blood of the martyrs. This archipelago of many islands, for the possession of which there is a jealous rivalry between the colonial ambition of England and of France, is divided into the Northern—Torres and Banks Islands; the Central—from Espirito Santo or Merena to Efate; and the Southern New Hebrides—Eromanga, Tanna, and Aneityum. In respect of the inhabitants, however, there is little difference. They are all warlike savages, who, moreover, by the infamous deeds¹ connected with the trade in sandal-wood and the labour traffic, have been filled with distrust and hatred towards the missionaries, of whom many, like J. Williams and Patteson, have fallen a victim to these feelings. The Northern Islands are occupied mainly by the Melanesian Mission, the Central and Southern Islands by the various branches of Presbyterians. The number of evangelical Christians in all the islands together may amount at present to 20,000, the fourth part of the whole population, which numbers 85,000.

In the Southern Islands Presbyterian missions have done their costly but successful work. In Aneityum it was possible to set this beautiful inscription over the grave of the Scotchman, Geddie: "When he came to the island in 1848 there was not a single Christian; when he left in 1872 there was not a single heathen." Aniwa has been Christianised by the

¹ Warneke, *Mission und Kultur*, p. 228.

courageous Paton,¹ whom the most perilous experiences among the savages of Tanna, who drove him from the island, were not enough to discourage. Eromanga, which is notorious for the murder of Williams and the two Gordons, has also been now almost entirely won for Christianity.² In Futuna, which has likewise been drenched with blood, the harvest is only now beginning. In the southern half of the Central New Hebrides group the work is still to a great extent in the initial stages. The Presbyterians have already achieved good results there, especially in Efate, Nguna, and Epi. The Norwegian Michelsen, in the shepherd island of Tongoa, after being often threatened with death by the savage cannibal people, has had the joyful experience of seeing the last heathen converted to Christianity. The Northern half of the New Hebrides group is almost exclusively a field of the Melanesian Mission, which has its headquarters in Norfolk Island, about half-way between New Caledonia and New Zealand. From that centre it sends out its native workers after preliminary training, stations them and visits them by ship.

285. Both in the Northern New Hebrides and in the Santa Cruz and Solomon Islands, which lie next to them on the north and north-west respectively, the Melanesian Mission is the only worker. While in the Banks Islands and also in the Florida Islands—the British Solomon group—considerable results have been attained (together 9000 Christians). Elsewhere in this extensive field the light is still in conflict with deep darkness, and is succeeding only very gradually in dispelling it. Altogether in 26 islands of the New Hebrides and Solomon groups the Melanesian Mission has 180 stations, with 380 native teachers and 12,000 baptized Christians. The most eminent personality in the service of the Melanesian Mission was Patteson, its second bishop, a distinguished man, full of patience and humility, of self-denial and courage, who—like John Williams in Eromanga—was murdered in the island of Nukapu in the Santa Cruz group in 1872, a sacrifice to the vengeance of the islanders for their shameful treatment at the hands of the whites.³

In the Bismarck Archipelago, which has been since 1884 a German protectorate, the Wesleyans of Australia have since 1875 carried on a mission, with numerous native evangelists from Fiji and Tonga, in the islands of New Pomerania, New

¹ John G. Paton, *Missionary to the New Hebrides: an Autobiography*, 5th ed., London, 1889.

² Warneck, *Missions-stunden*, II. i. 315: "An Island of Murderers and Martyrs."

³ Yonge, *Life of J. C. Patteson*, 5th ed., London, 1875. Arnstrong, *The History of the Melanesian Mission*, London, 1900.

Lauenburg, and New Mecklenburg, among a population of savages who are still untamed. In New Pomerania the stations are in the north of the island, and in New Mecklenburg about the middle of the west coast. At 3 chief stations and 80 out-stations over 7000 Christians of a rudimentary type (2400 members) have been gathered, who, however, make considerable contributions for the support of their churches, and take an active part in the Christianising of their fellow-countrymen. A notorious old magician at his baptism confessed with tears: "How many people are lying in the grave, the victims of my poisoned draughts! And now I am afraid of Him who has power to destroy both body and soul in hell. To-day I will make an end. I know the Gospel and I will follow it. My life is nearly past, but I put my trust in God, that for the sake of His dear Son, Jesus Christ, He will give me the life everlasting." Unfortunately, the Catholic mission, which has pushed right into the field of the Wesleyans, is endeavouring as much as possible, by its intriguing devices, to hurt and throw suspicion on evangelical mission work.¹

286. New Guinea is now divided into three protectorates, the Dutch, German, and British, but its interior is still unexplored. The oldest mission is in the north-west, in the Dutch part of the island. There the Gossner missionaries, Ottow and Geissler, sent out at the instance of Heldring, began a mission at Doré Bay, or rather in Manaswari, the little island opposite to it; this mission has been a labour of patience, attended with much danger and privation, and has been prosecuted very faithfully by the Utrecht Missionary Union; it has now 5 stations with 260 Christians, but it has exerted a civilising influence full of blessing on all the population round about. In Kaiser Wilhelm Land there are two German missions still in the initial stages, begun by the Neuendettelsau, and the Rhenish Missionary Societies in 1886 and 1887 respectively. The former has 4 stations in the Finsch Haven district; the latter has 3 stations in the region about Astrolabe Bay. The initial work has been made very difficult by the investigation required by the language, with its numerous dialects within a small extent of country, by the climate, to which many lives have been sacrificed, and by the intellectual dulness of the barbarous population, broken up as it is into many little tribes at enmity with each other. It must therefore be regarded as already a success that the natives have now some confidence in the missionaries and

¹ The particular proofs of these intrigues, and of the unchristian manner of Roman Catholic missionary enterprise, are given in *Allgem. Miss. Zeitschr.*, 1895, 547; and 1897, 134.

some faint understanding of what they are really seeking to do. The Neuendettelsau missionaries have baptized their first-fruits. The south-eastern portion of the island, which is a British protectorate, has proved beyond all expectation a fruitful mission field. This success has been attained since 1872, under the direction of eminent London missionaries, such as Murray, Macfarlane, Chalmers, Lawes, by planting at successive stations increasing bands of brave Polynesian teachers, many of whom succumbed to the climate, while others were murdered. At more than 50 stations, stretching from Port Moresby as far as the Gulf of Papua and the Fly River, of which four are chief stations, the L. M. S. has gathered here over 7000 Christians, of whom 1800 are communicants, and 2500 scholars; it has established seminaries for the training of native helpers, translated the New Testament into the Motu language, and some portions of it into other languages as well; and extended its civilising influence over nearly the whole coast.¹ Only, these European missionaries are not sufficient for the ever-extending field. Unhappily, two of them—one, the noble Chalmers—have recently (in April 1901) been murdered, along with 12 native helpers, in an attempt to make peace between two savage tribes that were at enmity. Besides the L. M. S., the Australian Anglicans have also been at work on the north-east coast of British New Guinea since 1891, and the Australian Wesleyans during the same time in the D'Entrecasteaux and Louisiade Islands lying off the south-east promontory. The Anglicans have as yet achieved little success, but the results already attained by the Wesleyans have been considerable (1300 adherents).

SECTION 3. MICRONESIA

287. North of western Melanesia and almost parallel with it, lies Micronesia, with its abundance of small islands, which, however, have a population of no more than about 90,000, akin to the Polynesians. Micronesia is divided into three archipelagoes,—the Gilbert and Marshall Islands, the Carolines and the Ladrões or Mariannes. The first of these archipelagoes—Gilbert Islands—is a British protectorate; the Marshall Islands, and now also the Carolines, which by a papal arbitration procured on Bismarck's initiative became Spanish, are a German protectorate, to which the Ladrões and the

¹ Murray, *Forty Years' Mission Work in Polynesia and New Guinea* (1835-1875), London, 1876. Chalmers and Gill, *New Guinea: Journeys and Missionary Activity during the Years 1877-1885*.

Pelew Islands have also been added. With the exception of the five most southerly of the Gilbert Islands, which are already half Christianised, and which still belong to the South Sea mission field of the L. M. S., the whole of Micronesia (except the Ladrões) has been occupied since 1852 by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, which is under the superintendence of the American Board. Its work is conducted mainly by native teachers, at present numbering 81, of whom 23 are ordained. In this extensive mission field there are, besides 9 unmarried ladies, only 9 American missionaries, who are engaged partly in conducting the training institutions for these native teachers, partly in visiting them on board a special mission-ship. The number is so small that there is not sufficient oversight of the native workers, who are not always fully equal for their duties. These workers have nevertheless exerted a surprisingly great Christianising and civilising influence on the Micronesian islanders, who are comparatively good-natured; of their number, 18,000 are regarded as Christian adherents, and 5400 are communicants. Repeatedly the population of a whole island have turned to Christianity, and broken with idolatry and the coarse heathen practices. Relapses and even sanguinary brawls have indeed not been wanting, and no very high standard of holiness can be applied to the Christianity of these Micronesians, converted, as many of them have been, through the agency of very imperfect instruments.

288. Of the Gilbert Islands the most important for missions are Tapiteuea, Nonouti, Tarawa, Apaiang, and Butaritari. In the Marshall Islands, which are composed of the two parallel chains of the Ratak and Raliki Islands, the most important are Ebon and Jalut. The centre from which the work in both of these groups is directed is the island of Kusaie in the Carolines, which is also the seat of the chief seminary. The German occupation of the Marshall Archipelago caused at the first various disturbances, which might perhaps have been avoided if American missionaries had been stationed in the islands. Such disturbances were much more serious in the Carolines, especially in Ponape, the principal island, when in the most brutal fashion Spain took possession of them, banished the evangelical missionaries, even sending one of them—the aged Doane—as a prisoner to Manila, and gave its aid to a coercive Catholic propaganda. Only now, since the German occupation of the islands, have the evangelical missionaries been permitted to return to Ponape. During their abandonment the majority of the Christians sought to edify themselves as well as they could. Of course, under the Spanish rule and the violent Catholic propaganda, there has been a

retrogression in the native Christianity, both in numbers and in quality. On most of the other Caroline Islands, however, mission work has been little affected by Spanish rule. Along with the principal centres in Ponape and Kusaie, the Mortlock and Rook groups form the most fruitful mission field. In the Ladrões (Mariannes) no evangelical mission is as yet carried on.

SECTION 4. AUSTRALIA

289. From Micronesia we turn again southward, passing over Melanesia to the mainland of Australia, the Papua population of which is related to the Melanesians and is on the lowest level of civilisation. The settlement, first of English criminals and then of increasing bands of colonists from almost all the Western nations, has made this great continent entirely a domain of the whites, as far at least as the nature of the soil permits colonisation, namely, mainly on its southern and eastern margin. The total white population numbers at present $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions. These white settlers have gradually formed themselves into 5 colonies, comparatively independent of the English mother country,—Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and West Australia; and in addition to these there is the colony of Tasmania, the island lying off the south of the continent. The three first-named colonies in particular have their own independently organised church communities, which, as was said before, carry on mission work with more or less independence and energy. Before this great flood of immigration the poor native population has in great part disappeared,—to the last man in Tasmania, where not one of the aborigines is left, and all but a widely scattered remnant of at most 55,000 in the vast expanse of Australia. So inhuman was the barbarity with which these unhappy Papuas in past times were not only forced back, dispossessed, and ill treated, but deliberately slaughtered, shot down like beasts, and poisoned in crowds, that we can hardly make up our minds to believe the best attested reports of these enormities. Only since 1838, when a society was formed for the protection of the decadent black inhabitants and the Government appointed a protector for them, has a change gradually taken place in their treatment in all the colonies, and now, so far as they can be reached, they are the object of benevolent care. In many of the reservations in which the several Governments have gathered the natives, provision is made for their hearing the word of God. The various missions, too—Moravian, Australian and German Lutheran, Anglican and Presbyterian—which devote part of their attention to the Papuan reserves,

set apart and subsidised by the Government, enjoy both official and private support. The missions are in truth diminutive. The stations, indeed, are numerous, but almost all are small, and at these the saving work of Christian love is being done faithfully and patiently, with very modest results. Perhaps some 5000 are under the influence of the mission; the number of those baptized, however, can scarcely exceed 800.

290. In Victoria the Moravians have two well-known stations, Ebenezer and Ramahyuk; the latter in particular, under the able direction of Hagenauer, takes rank as a model. The work of the 4 Anglican stations and 1 Presbyterian station (Coranderok) is also worthy of recognition. In New South Wales, besides the Anglicans, various societies are at work at 6 stations and in the numerous reservations. In Queensland there are again 6 stations, among which Yarraburra takes a specially prominent place, and the Neuendettelsau combined station of Elim-Hope is worthy of mention. It is here that Gribble, a missionary who has rendered highly meritorious service in the Christianising of the Australian natives, is engaged in successful work. In Northern Queensland, the Moravians, again, with the financial support of the Australian Presbyterians, have begun a Papua mission, which has at present 2 stations (Mapoon), and which in a comparatively short time has exerted an astonishing influence. In South Australia there are 5 stations, of which once more 2 are German,—New Hermannsburg and Bethesda, which are manned by the Australian Immanuel Synod and by the Neuendettelsau Society. Lastly, in Western Australia the Anglican Church alone carries on work among the Papuas, mainly from Perth, the capital, as centre. More hopeful than the mission to this dull and dying race is the work of the Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Wesleyans among the numerous immigrant Chinese. This work is prosecuted in all the colonies, and to some extent by the agency of Chinese evangelists. Several thousands of these strangers from the Middle Kingdom, who have been received so inhospitably by the Australians, attend the religious services instituted for their benefit, and not a few of them return home in possession of the pearl of great price. Also among the thousands of Oceanic labourers, the so-called Kanaka, who are imported to Australia, the work of missions is carried on with increasing success.

SECTION 5. NEW ZEALAND

291. In conclusion, we pass from Australia to New Zealand, the most southerly of the Oceanic groups, which consists

of the larger and more populous North Island and the smaller South Island, besides a number of little islands. The Maori inhabitants of this group, who seem, unfortunately, to be destined to extinction, number now only about 43,000 (inclusive of half-breeds). They combine with a certain natural magnanimity a character wild and passionate, which formerly made them greatly feared, and which has repeatedly broken forth even in Christian times. The C. M. S. began the first mission among them in 1814, at the instigation of Marsden, the noble chaplain of the English convict colony at Sydney, New South Wales. He intended this to be mainly a mission for civilisation, and it was therefore entrusted to artisans. The theory that civilisation must precede Christianisation¹ was in practice soon found wanting, and was given up, and only then did the mission come into a path of blessing, at first very slowly and then with rapid strides. This was the experience also of the Wesleyan mission, which followed the Anglican in 1822. From the middle of the Thirties onward, so widespread were the revivals, that in 1841 Bishop Selwyn, with perhaps some excess of rhetoric, was able to declare: "We see here a whole nation converted from heathenism to Christianity." Unfortunately, this same bishop during this period kept back the training of a native pastorate, an omission which bitterly avenged itself in the troubles that followed. Through the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, which gave the dominion to the Queen of England, and assured to the Maoris the possession of their lands, a flourishing English colony was brought into being, which now numbers 700,000 souls; with its growth a fatal land-question developed itself, and led repeatedly to destructive wars, in which many of the Maoris, whose rights had been violated, fell away from Christianity, and formed for themselves, in Hauhauism, a coarse bastard religion, whose fanatical prophets obtained many adherents. Only very gradually, through the co-operation of able and courageous Maori pastors, has the injury occasioned by this reaction been healed and the Maori church been reorganised. Even yet the wild Hauhauism, with its offshoots, has not wholly died out, but it seems to be at its last breath.²

292. At 49 stations the C. M. S. has now 18,200 Maori Christians, who are cared for in regard to church and school by 38 Maori pastors and 320 native teachers; while the Wesleyans have some 5500 adherents. In addition, there

¹ Warneck, *Modern Missions and Culture*, p. 248.

² W. Williams, *Christianity among the New Zealanders*, London, 1867. Buller, *Forty Years in New Zealand: Christianisation*, London, 1878; and *New Zealand, Past and Present*, London, 1883.

might be some thousands of evangelical Maoris attached to other colonial church communities, especially the Presbyterian. There is also still in existence in the small island of Ruapuke, to the south of South Island, a congregation established by former missionaries of the North German Missionary Society. The Hermannsburg Mission, on the other hand, has withdrawn from New Zealand. The Mormons have also a following of about 3000 Maoris.

293. Gathering together the statistical results of the Oceanic Missions, we find approximately the following numbers of native evangelical Christians in the several divisions:—

Polynesia	.	.	.	.	.	202,000
Melanesia	.	.	.	.	.	50,000
Micronesia ¹	.	.	.	.	.	18,000
Australia	.	.	.	.	.	4,000
New Zealand	.	.	.	.	.	25,000
Total	.	.	.	.	.	<u>299,000</u>

294. Finally, bringing together the statistics of all evangelical missions in all the four parts of the world, we find these numbers of native Christians:—

America ²	.	.	.	.	.	8,366,000
Africa ³	.	.	.	.	.	983,000
Asia	.	.	.	.	.	1,675,000
Oceania	.	.	.	.	.	299,000
Grand total	.	.	.	.	.	<u>11,323,000 ⁴</u>

¹ Exclusive of the Christians of the L. M. S. in the Gilbert Islands, who have already been included in the number for Polynesia.

² Including the evangelical negro Christians, who are reckoned at 7,225,000.

³ According to the reduced statistics for Madagascar.

⁴ The American Dr. Dennis, the author of *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, has compiled for the 3rd volume of this book statistics of all the evangelical missions, grouped according to missionary organisations, with a comprehensiveness and completeness not hitherto attained. He laid extracts from these before the Ecumenical Conference held in New York in 1900, which are appended to the Official Report (vol. ii. p. 419). Nothing short of admiration is due to the author's care, diligence, and patience; unfortunately, however, under the malign influence of the English expression "foreign mission," he has not been able to bring himself to understand by "mission" strictly the operations directed to the Christianising of the non-Christian nations, but has included evangelisation among non-Protestants; while, on the other hand, he has excluded the work of Christianising among the negroes and the Indians of North America, as belonging to the sphere of home missions. This conception of missions, different as it is from ours (the German), naturally produces in Dennis's work, on the one hand, a considerable elevation of the statistical returns, and, on the other hand, a still more considerable reduction,—a reduction, because the Christian negroes and Indians of the United States are omitted; an elevation, because an extensive work of evangelisation is carried on by many British and American missionary societies among the Roman

Catholic and Greek Catholic nations. Dennis does not, of course, reckon under foreign missions the work of proselytising done by many of these societies among the Protestant nations of Europe, and he explains that he has therefore not included its results in his Statistical Summary; but so far as one can follow his American statistics, he has not kept consistently to this declaration. He has, however, done what before him no one has succeeded in doing, having gathered his materials of information at first hand from 90 per cent. of all the missionary organisations in the whole world, and given himself the greatest possible trouble to amplify and sift these by means of private correspondence (*e.g.* with myself); and in consequence his statistics are more complete, and presumably nearer to the reality than mine,—only that it is necessary to deduct some 6 per cent. from the totals under 1, 2, 4, and 7 as not belonging to foreign missions proper (Dr. Warneck's word is *Heidenmission*—missions to heathen). I shall now give his main figures for the sake of comparison.

Under 3 divisions:—

- I. Societies directly engaged in conducting foreign missions;
- II. Societies indirectly co-operating or aiding in foreign missions;
- III. Societies or institutions independently engaged in specialised effort in various departments of foreign missions, he reckons—

1. Communicants—

I.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,289,298
II.	.	.	.	.	.	.	25,561
III.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,825
Total	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,317,684

2. Christians—

I.	.	.	.	4,327,283	} Exclusive of the North American Negro and Indian Christians.
II.	.	.	.	76,328	
III.	.	.	.	10,625	
Total	.	.	.	4,414,236	

3. Schools and scholars arranged according to mission fields, 20,407 and 1,049,378.

4. Ordained (5063) and lay (1470) missionaries, 6533.

5. Men (484) and women (218) medical missionaries, 702.

6. Unmarried lady missionaries, 3403.

7. Income at home and abroad, £3,825,224 (\$19,126,120).

8. Missionary Organisations:—

I.	.	.	.	.	.	.	249
II.	.	.	.	.	.	.	98
III.	.	.	.	.	.	.	102
Total	.	.	.	.	.	.	449

This last number, however, is of no use for us, as it includes many societies which do not themselves independently send out missionaries, but are only auxiliary missionary societies.

The gigantic work which Dennis has accomplished proves to me once again that in spite of it absolutely reliable missionary statistics are impossible, not merely because it is never possible to gather together all the material from the whole wide extent of the field, but because the statistical conceptions are different among the different nations and missionary societies.

CHAPTER VI

ESTIMATE OF THE RESULTS OF EVANGELICAL MISSIONS

295. WHEN Paul returned to Antioch from his first missionary journey, he gathered the congregation there and “rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how He had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles” (Acts xiv. 27). In this oldest missionary report the chief stress is manifestly laid on this, that it was God who gave the missionaries entrance and success; and it is profitable also, in view of the facts of present-day missionary history, to have regard to the Divine leadings and influences which are opening the doors, alike to the lands and to the hearts of the heathen. But at the same time the apostle in giving his report throws into prominence *ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς μετ’ αὐτῶν*. If we translate *ὅσα* by “what,” “all that,” then we have simply the results of this first missionary journey recorded, without the addition of any verdict as to whether these results are to be reckoned as considerable or as not so. We may, however, also render the word by “how much,” “how great things,” and then the results are characterised as an important missionary success.

In the foregoing survey of the evangelical mission field of to-day, the attempt has been made to set forth in outline soberly and objectively what has been accomplished up to this time. Looking now at the state of the facts, can we say that what has been done is *much*?

296. In face of a non-Christian humanity numbering still over 1080 millions,¹ the numerical result of about 11 million

¹ Religious statistics cannot, any more than missionary statistics, lay claim to absolute reliability. According to the relatively most certain returns, the 1587 millions of human beings who inhabit the earth to-day are divided according to religions as follows:—

Christians	530,000,000
Roman Catholics	230,000,000
Greek Catholics	115,000,000
Protestants	185,000,000
Jews	10,000,000
Mohammedans	197,000,000
Heathen	850,000,000
 Total	 <u>1,587,000,000</u>

heathen-Christians¹ is not *much*, especially when one considers that at present the non-Christian humanity is being increased yearly through births by $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions more than this total, if the accepted rate of increase of 12 per 1000 per annum is accurate. The number of heathen-Christians, it is true, increases much more rapidly in proportion through baptisms of adults and children than the number of heathen through births, and it is therefore a knotty problem in mathematics to calculate how many hundred years are required for missions to reach even a yearly increase equal to the yearly overplus of births. For missions at the outset indeed resemble, as has been sarcastically said, "a tortoise running a race with a railway-train"; but it is not true that "this tortoise lags farther behind, the longer the race continues." The statistical results of missions increase in ascending, though not regularly ascending, progression, just like a capital sum to which compound interest is added. Not to speak of the sporadic missionary activity of the eighteenth century, the statistical result of which amounted to scarcely 70,000 heathen-Christians, it is only since the beginning of the nineteenth century that we have carried on missions with gradually increasing energy. After about 80 years—up to 1881—there were (according to the second edition² of this *Outline*, in which the negro Christians were not included in the reckoning) 2,283,000 native Christians; the number at present is (without the North American negroes) 4,000,000. There has thus been in 18 years an increase of a million and three quarters, or at least of a million and a half, seeing that perhaps some hundred thousands of this increase are to be accounted for by the greater accuracy of the statistics. In any case the number of heathen-Christians is increasing at present at the rate of about 125,000 yearly, which is in proportion almost thrice the birth-rate within the heathen world. We have no desire to lose ourselves in trifling calculations³ as to how far, at this rate of progress, the tortoise will have gained on the railway-train in 100 years; this, however, is indubitable, that the missionary results of the future will at this rate of progress be greater than those of the past. Nevertheless, the present attainments of missions, measured by human standards, must still be described as small. This verdict cannot be essentially altered by a reference to the

¹[This phrase is the common German expression for Christians converted from non-Christian religions through modern missions.—Ed.]

²[Published in 1883.—Ed.]

³Such a foolish reckoning is one which was based on the supposition that in the year 1887 there were 60,000 baptisms of heathen, and this was regarded as the normal number, which should always remain the same. Ten years later, the baptisms of heathens in a year amounted to fully twice as many.

results of apostolic missions. The statistical results of these we can only estimate in this way: 100 years after the beginning of the apostolic mission there were perhaps a third of a million of Christians; to-day, after 100 years of mission work, there are 11 millions. Is that not *much*? By such a mechanical comparison,—yes! In comparison with the missions of to-day, apostolic missions had immense advantages, which may be described in a word as a *gratia præveniens*, such as no later missionary period has shared; all this was favourable to their success. On the other hand, there stand behind the missions of to-day a vast Christendom, with its civilisation and its temporal power, and an army of workers in comparison with which the workers of the apostolic and sub-apostolic times seem a very small company; and this has to be considered in estimating the success of the latter. For a just comparison both sides must be taken into account, and then the balance of *much* success hardly inclines to the side of the missions of to-day. The earth is not yet full of the knowledge of the Lord; only a small beginning has been made, and in face of this a sober missionary judgment dare not shirk the question whether it does not partly lie with the workers, both at home and abroad, that by this time the result is not greater. It is a short-sighted prejudice always to lay the blame of this deficiency only on the still insufficient number of workers. Our home Christendom, indeed, has not yet by any means acted in accordance with the magnitude of its missionary task; 6000 missionaries for more than 1000 millions of non-Christians justify the old complaint, “The labourers are few”; but this does not justify us in refraining from examining whether there are not also defects in the quality of the workers, and errors in the methods of work, which have prevented the attainment of greater results. And now let us look at the other side.

297. To read Luke's report in Acts xiii. and xiv. of the first missionary journey, it does not seem as if *much* had been accomplished in it, although it lasted about four years. In four places congregations had come into existence amid much enmity and persecution, with presumably a very small number of members; and yet the apostles are glad and thankful that God had done so *much* with them. Why? Because a beginning had been made that was sure of development, and in the little harvest of first-fruits there lay the seed of the future. The apostles view the first results with the believing look of hope, and to this look they are great.

To judge fairly of the missionary results of the present day, we must consider the 11 millions of heathen-Christians from

these three points of view: (1) They are the beginning of a harvest, which becomes seed again; (2) the missions of to-day have to reckon with hindrances which greatly interfere with their operation; (3) the success of missions is far in excess of the statistical results.

298. As has been already remarked, the missions of to-day are still young. Of the great work of the Christianising of the world the words are true: "A thousand years are with the Lord as one day"; at a later time the other half of the text will apply, "and one day as a thousand years." The mission has its times of leisure and of haste. But the beginning has the characteristics of the mustard-seed and the nativity: the growth is slow and invisible. That is God's way of building. Except in the case of the negroes of the United States, and of some small regions which have been Christianised, the missions of to-day are still everywhere in the initial stages, and it is particularly the beginnings of missions which are hard. In truth, it is necessary to observe the work from somewhat near at hand in order to understand the mountains of difficulty which present themselves in the climatic conditions, the alien character of the people, the acquisition of the languages, and in the vain manner of life handed down from the fathers, which offers the most obstinate opposition to the new Christian order. Much more than heathen doctrine, it is heathen customs, especially customs consecrated by religion, which occasion the chief struggles with Christianity; it is only necessary to think of caste, ancestor-worship, polygamy, and circumcision. And conversely, the reaction of heathenism is against Christian ethics, the new moral order of life, far more than against Christian dogma. And a long time is needed for this reaction to lose its power. What has been done hitherto has been mainly in the way of preparation and foundation-laying, and the work of foundation-laying is slow. It is a great matter, however, that this work already extends over so large a part of the earth's surface. Just as an army has already gained a great victory in a war when it holds a position in the midst of the enemy's country, even though it has won no battle, so the missions of to-day have also gained a great victory in having penetrated so deeply into the midst of the non-Christian peoples, and in having gained a permanent foothold among them. But already also battles have been won, and if the 11 million heathen-Christians are but a small spoil in comparison with the still gigantic heathen-world, they are, nevertheless, the earnest that Jesus Christ can and shall win the victory over the alien religions. In our time, characterised as it is by haste and impatience, it is found to be very difficult

to reconcile one's self to the slowness of missionary progress consequent on the nature of the work and the large number of hindrances. Even believing Christians suffer from this malady of the times, and because they do not succeed rapidly enough with Christianisation, they set before themselves as their missionary task a mere evangelisation, with which they hope to be able to speed quickly through the world.

299. The difficulties are to be found not only in the strange peoples, languages, religions, and customs, but in the many offensive hindrances put in the way of missionary success by the large number of nominal Christians scattered over the world. The immense world-wide traffic of to-day, with its commercial relations and occupation of colonial possessions, brings to almost all the mission fields ever increasing bands of Western Christians, the majority of whom live a life which brings shame on Christianity. Had Paul to bring against the Jews of his time the accusation, "The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you"? Even so this accusation cries to heaven even to-day against a great number of Christians living among the heathen. And that not merely because of the many sins of particular individuals, but far more because of the inconsiderate self-seeking which characterises the whole commercial and political intercourse of the Christian West with the non-Christian world. While, on the one hand, trade and colonial politics are opening the world's doors, they are, on the other, closing the people's hearts to the Gospel; so that missions have liked best to seek their field of labour outside of the shadow of dispersed Christendom. When we take into account also the numerous direct temptations that proceed from these Christians, and their many malevolent attacks on missionaries and their work, we find ourselves confronted with an array of influences in opposition to Christian missions, in face of which we can only wonder that all the seed sown has not been utterly trodden under foot. And there are adversaries of another kind. Unfortunately, it is not an united Christendom that is engaged at present in the propagation of the Gospel. The multitude of the divisions of evangelical missions has a confusing tendency, even when the missionaries of the various societies do not compete with each other; but the intrusion of the Roman Mission, which is advancing ever more systematically and with increasing hostility, is destructive in its effect.¹ Paul, indeed, had to complain of false brethren who crept into his work, but what

¹ Warneck, *Protestant. Beleuchtung*, p. 322; *Roman Intrusion and Proselytism*.

evangelical missions have to suffer to-day from the enmity of Rome had no parallel in apostolic times.

300. Finally, it would imply a very limited conception to reduce the success of missions to the statistical results. In looking at the numbers of the present day, we renounce all foolish boasting, although the numbers speak when they are interpreted in a living way. There is a missionary success which cannot be statistically recorded, and this success far exceeds the numerical achievement of missions. About the middle of the second century the youthful Christendom, in the midst of the population of the Roman world-empire, formed a minority, not only decreasing, but also little regarded; and yet the future belonged to it. It represented an intellectual, moral, and religious power, that was ever more and more producing a ferment and creating an atmosphere which at once exerted a decomposing influence on heathen conceptions, and set in movement Christian ideas and vital forces, and so prepared for the great victory of Christianity in the future.¹ And such a process is going on to-day. Not only in India, but in every place where missions have for a considerable time had foothold, even in the case of each of the nature-peoples, this ferment is arising, the new atmosphere is being formed, and a transformation is beginning in the domain of the intellectual, social, moral, and even industrial life which marks the commencement of a new epoch in the history of civilisation, this conception being taken in the widest sense.² Often the baptized Christians still form an apparently powerless minority, and yet they already exert, far beyond the limits of the Christian congregations, transforming influences which have the significance of a Christianising education. In an "Outline" of missionary history it is only possible to refer very slightly to those results that cannot be statistically set forth, but which at the same time become means of Christianisation. To learn what these are, and by learning to understand what missionary success properly is, a special study of the individual mission fields is necessary. To stimulate a desire for such a study, and to form an introduction to it, is a chief aim of this general survey.

301. It is quite impossible to make a statistical record of the quality of the heathen-Christians.³ If the missionary task consists of "making disciples" (μαθητεύειν) and "converting

¹ Warneck, *Die apostolische u. die moderne Mission*, Gütersloh, 1876, p. 47.

² Warneck, *Mission und Kultur*. Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, 2 vols., New York, 1897. Mackenzie, *Christianity and the Progress of Man, etc.; illustrated by Modern Missions*, New York, 1897.

³ See Note 1, p. 342.

(ἐπιστρέφειν),¹ then the most real and inward missionary result is such Christians won from among non-Christians as Jesus recognises as His disciples, who are not merely outwardly converted to Christianity, but show by their lives that the new faith has made new men of them. How large the number of such Christians is, no statistics can show. Undoubtedly, it is not inconsiderable, but the idealisation of the native Christian congregations as congregations of the elect does not correspond with the actual state of the facts. They are fragments of national churches, a field of mixed crops, in which, amongst the wheat, stand many tares. The majority of the members of these congregations are rudimentary Christians: not only is their Christian knowledge often very deficient, but their life is also marked with many spots and wrinkles. If they are clear of the grossest heathen pollution, and, in comparison with their past, have attained a much higher moral level, yet in many respects they still lag far behind the Christian ideal of morality. With the majority the transition to Christianity is not identical with that which we call conversion: the "old man" is not always put off when the heathen is laid aside. The field, too, into which the mission is casting the seed of the Word is more full of weeds than the church field at home; so that the growth is threatened with greater defilement. Only, one must not fall into the opposite error of making the colours too dark, and, on the ground of individual occurrences of a very distressing kind within the young native Christian congregations, pass a general judgment of condemnation on the whole results of missions. Leaving aside the numerous accusations that rest on mere gossip, as well as the numerous superficial judgments, particularly of travellers who neither have religious intelligence nor have taken the trouble to concern themselves about missions on the spot, to generalise in this way is somewhat as if one were to declare, from the mass of news which our daily press loves to offer of all the wicked deeds that happen, that the whole German nation consists of thieves and murderers. The comparatively few moral enormities which arouse attention are collected and recorded, and the large respectable part of society is ignored, as well as the virtuous life which is led in quietness. Even in apostolic times, not only were there weaknesses enough among the young Christians, but there were even hypocrites and apostates; and yet that was a brilliant era of Christianity. At all times there are chaff and weeds among the wheat; how, then, can one wonder if the heathen-Christendom of to-day is not free from them? There is shadow enough, but with it

¹ Warneck, *Ev. Missionslehre*, iii. 1. 201.

much light also; and this light shines all the more brightly when one marks the darkness beside it from which it has burst forth, and amid which it maintains itself. In spite of all their deficiencies, the Christian congregations gathered by the missions of to-day are a salt in the midst of their heathen surroundings; and in spite of the mean aspect¹ worn by the missions of the present time, they are a work in which one beholds the glory of God.

302. In conclusion, if the aim of missions is not merely the conversion of many separate individuals, but the founding of independent national churches, self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating, so that at last the sending forth from the old Christendom shall entirely cease, have the missions of the present already attained this end? No, they have not yet attained it; but in several mission fields they are at least in the position of approximating to the attainment of it. The present missionary era is still too short, and the people who are the objects of missionary effort are still, for the most part, on too low a level of culture for the final goal of missions, complete ecclesiastical independence, to have been reached by this time. The comparison with apostolic missions is deceptive, owing to the total difference in character of the conditions. The doctrinarianism of Independency has here and there, in Hawaii, for example, granted independence to a young native Christian church, but the experiment has always had bad results. Even where the specific work of Christianisation has come to an end, as for example in various groups of islands in the South Seas, in the West Indies, and in Minahassa, missionary superintendence cannot yet be dispensed with. Certainly, in the initial stages of missions, the training of the native Christians to independence has been very largely neglected, but to-day this end is being everywhere laboured for on principle, and with great diligence. The financial achievements are in some cases already so great as to relieve considerably the missionary societies, and the native pastors and teachers not only increase numerically from year to year, but also ripen inwardly to growing independence. Not a few of the native Christian congregations, indeed, are lacking in aggressive force; while from others there proceeds a great missionary or assimilative influence. In most of the older mission fields the process of forming national churches has already begun, and while at present it is still mainly in the early stages, yet from decade to decade it makes a visible advance. Whether, indeed, it can everywhere be brought to the final goal, to full independence of the old missionary

¹ Germ., *Knechtsgestalt*, "the form of a servant."

Christendom, is a question which at present no one could with confidence answer in the affirmative. The inferiority of a great part of the non-Christian humanity of to-day beside the civilised Western world, which is ever more and more overflowing, dominating, and decomposing it, does itself create a necessity for missionary superintendence even as a bulwark.

There is a missionary rhetoric which overestimates the results attained by missions up to the present time, and there is a missionary hypercriticism which undervalues them. In the foregoing work the attempt has been made to avoid both the one extreme and the other, and to present the actual facts as a sober apology for missions.

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B.—PLACES AND SUBJECTS.

Abbreviations.

I.—Island.	M.—Mission.	Am.—American.
R.—River.	Ms.—Missions.	Af.—African.
S. or Soc.—Society.	Mis.—Missionary.	

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